Making sense of the third mission:
Institutional logics behind academics' perceptions of societal engagement in social sciences

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M.Sc. (Admin.) thesis
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February 2017

Abstract

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Title of the thesis:	Making sense of the third mission: Institutional logics behind academics' perceptions of societal engagement in social sciences
M. Sc. (Admin.) thesis:	ix, 136 pages, 7 tables, 10 figures, 1 appendix
Date:	February 2017
Key words:	Third mission, societal engagement, academics' perceptions, academic work, academic identity, social sciences, institutional logics.

In the context of growing policy pressures for the societal impact of higher education institutions, third mission activities have gained increased visibility and significance. Yet, little is known about how engagement with the external environment influences conventional dimensions of academic work, and how academics resolve potential tensions and make sense of their engagement practices.

The thesis attempts to explore these issues by utilizing a self-constructed framework for the analysis of academic sensemaking and role identities based on the institutional logics perspective, and by approaching the research problem through a qualitative case study.

Results indicate that societal engagement is epistemically subordinated to research as the core of the academic profession, which helps academics to make sense of the element external to the Humboldtian model of higher education and involves a hybridization of multiple institutional logics and academic identities.

Evidently, for social scientists, the third mission makes the most sense when it is closely associated with the logics of profession and disciplinary area, and with state and community logics, whereas market and corporation logics, with notable exceptions, play a secondary or an antagonistic role. Data suggest that the institutional logics behind teaching might be considerably less conflict-inducing for societal engagement than those of research.

Findings also imply that logics-specific variations in academics' identities and goals are of paramount importance to policymakers, managers, and academic leaders striving to support third mission activities in higher education institutions and augment the societal impact of academic work.

In loving memory of my grandmother, Ideya Kopelyan, 1929-2016

Acknowledgements

All things are difficult before they are easy
Thomas Fuller, Gnomologia, 560

I would like to acknowledge with much appreciation the contribution of all those who facilitated the completion of this thesis.

First and foremost, I give special thanks to my supervisor Dr. Yuzhuo Cai for leading the way with a perfect researcher's sense and an excellent teacher's sensibility, and for rendering direct assistance whenever needed.

Furthermore, I am particularly eager to acknowledge the crucial contribution of the participants in this study who generously shared their opinions and experiences in the interviews. Without their invaluable input, the study would never have achieved its goals.

I extend my sincere gratitude to the members of Higher Education Group and the University of Tampere staff members who invested their time and effort in illuminating discussions of my research and provided stimulating suggestions and continuous encouragement.

I am equally indebted to the faculty and administrators of the MaRIHE program from all the Consortium universities and to my internship host, the Deusto International Tuning Academy, for gradually paving the way to this accomplishment and cultivating the love of research. I would also like to emphasize that, without the vital financial support of the European Commission, this intellectual and professional transition would not have been possible.

My heartfelt appreciation goes to all MaRIHE fellows and to my friends from all quarters of the world who remain an infinite source of inspiration and comfort for me, and whose engagement and advice have always helped me to move forward.

Last but not least, I thank my family for their unconditional love of my idiosyncrasies.

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	*Explanation*
HE.....	Higher education
HEIs.....	Higher education institutions
IPR…….	Intellectual property rights
NPM……...	New public management
RAE……	Research assessment exercise
SE……...	Societal engagement
SSH…….....	Social sciences and humanities
STE……	Science, technology, engineering
UTA……...	University of Tampere

1. Introduction

Since 1980s, neoliberal reforms in the public sector have had a dramatic effect on the relationship between the state, higher education institutions (HEIs), and society. All around the world, national governments have discontinued direct administration of tertiary education and adopted the mechanisms of governance and finance from the private sector, such as policy steering and output-based budgeting (Klees, 2008; Pausits, Zheng, & Abebe, 2014). In efforts to optimize the costs and improve the efficiency and quality of HEIs, governments have stimulated the development of quasi-markets where universities compete for funds, reputation, and customers. Thus, universities have become more autonomous in management and more flexible, yet less autonomous academically and more accountable to both the state and society in their capacity of consumers of teaching and research (Morrow, 2006).

In exchange for investment, higher education is expected to contribute to socio-economic advancement, innovation and sustainable growth (Torres, 2011). Hence the increasing prominence of the so-called *third mission* of the university, of universities' societal engagement and linkages with business and industry. Higher education has been made responsible not only for the transmission of expertise, cultural tradition, and identity, but also for the educating students as active citizens. It is no longer sufficient for HEIs to train professionals, they are now required to ensure graduate employability. Furthermore, they are encouraged to meet economic demands and support innovation eco-systems by commercializing research and services, transferring knowledge, and cooperating with external stakeholders on various levels – local, national, regional, and international.

The logics of performativity and commodification of knowledge facilitate the prioritization of certain goals, operations, and disciplines over the others (Ball, 2012). Whereas it is relatively easy to form public-private partnerships and derive revenues from patents, start-ups, and spin-offs in science, technology, or engineering (STE), it is virtually impossible to employ the same standards and indicators in the case of social sciences and the humanities (SSH). Following the global financial crisis of 2008, universities in the most developed and market-oriented countries began to shut down SSH departments and programs. Budget cuts introduced by national governments (e.g., Cohen, 2016; International Consultants for Education and Fairs [ICEF], 2015) have been accompanied by waning student enrollments and decline in research funding across the globe (Halevi & Bar-Ilan, 2013).

While advocates of SSH are trying to demonstrate the value and usefulness of these disciplines, their contribution to the public good, and their indispensability for graduate competences and the knowledge economy (Bastow, Dunleavy, & Tinkler, 2014; Benneworth, Gulbrandsen, & Hazelkorn, 2016), budgetary and policy pressures induce changes that oftentimes do not favor SSH. For instance, performance and output policies may overlook SSH peculiarities, and university services like technology transfer or research management offices may fail to provide support and incentives for them (Olmos Peñuela, 2013). To create a symmetry between top-down steering and bottom-up third mission activities, it is necessary to challenge the dominant STE-based model of the societal benefits of academic work and explore the views and experiences of key stakeholders in the process – academics from SSH.

This thesis studies a case of a Finnish research-oriented university that specializes in social sciences. It offers an analysis of academics' perceptions of societal engagement in the light of

contemporary national and organizational policies, individual motivation and identities, and in conjunction with academics' apprehension of the implications of societal engagement for their research and teaching. By surveying the institutional logics that underlie these perceptions, the study understands academic work as socially constructed and places the case in a wider interinstitutional perspective.

1.1 Research Problem

Nowadays, academics in social sciences operate in a policy setting that holds them accountable for societal engagement and the impact of their knowledge. Yet, little is known about how they respond to the pressure, and why, or how interaction with the external environment influences conventional dimensions of academic work (Pinheiro, Langa, & Pausits, 2015b). Meanwhile, these issues are critical for the implementation of policies and institutionalization of the third mission in HEIs, and this study attempts to tackle them.

In the European Union (the EU), universities are considered important actors in the knowledge economy because they generate know-how and foster the European competitiveness on the international scale (Benneworth, & Osborne, 2014; Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000), and Finland is fully on board with this vision (Välimaa & Hoffman, 2008). Yet, social sciences and humanities have been for decades discriminated by external stakeholders as unable to produce the same inputs to the economy as their "harder" (Becher, 1994) and more technological counterparts (Bastow et al., 2014). Although SSH have been recently recognized as an integral element of innovation systems at the highest EU policy level (EC, n.d.), conceptions of their societal utility and profitability remain impoverished by STE-specific patterns and by misleading impressions that have emerged from the efforts of some SSH scholars to secure more funding.

Focusing on social science disciplines, the study does not offer a discussion of their value *per se*. This heated debate, which has been conducted in both the academia and mass media, remains outside the scope of investigation. Instead, the analysis endeavors to go "back to the 'things themselves'" (no Husserlian sense intended), back to the ways in which academics from social sciences interpret their experience of serving the society. The practice of societal engagement is the foundation of all possible metrics and assessments of social impact, and it is vital to be able to put aside stereotypes and normative expectations and explore what is happening on the micro-level – how those very actors that create value for the society perceive and communicate the value of this exercise for themselves (Ritsilä, Nieminen, Sotarauta, & Lahtonen, 2008).

Examination of the situation on the micro-level aids in resolving another issue that is regularly brought up in the modern-day academia and raises a significant concern for the strategic management in the case university as well. Following Clark (1987) and Teichler, Arimoto, and Cummings (2013), this thesis defines academic work as the daily practice of understanding (learning), discovery (research), dissemination (teaching), application (service), and control (management and administration) of knowledge. With that, it shares the modified Humboldtian – or, for brevity, neo-Humboldtian – conviction that a close link between research, teaching, and service is essential for high-quality realization of university missions (cf. Ćulum, Rončević, & Ledić, 2013b; Goddard, Hazelkorn, Kempton, & Vallance, 2016). While the history of HEIs development since the 19th century has demonstrated how research and teaching can be mutually beneficial, and while it is obvious that there cannot be any third

mission without the basic tasks of teaching and research, it is not clear enough, how – or, rather, when – the third mission benefits the first two.

Furthermore, realization of the unity ideal can be inhibited by the increasing profiling of HEIs, by the specialization of labor in the academia (research vs. teaching positions), and by the low esteem for teaching and third mission work as compared to research and publishing (Teichler et al., 2013). In addition, societal engagement can have a disruptive influence on the traditional academic functions. Extending the observation of Perkmann, Salter, and Tartari (2011) with respect to university-industry interaction, it can be claimed that, for academics, interacting with the society means, if not actively endorsing, at least acquiescing to the diverging principles and norms practiced by their societal partners (cf. p. 9). Consequently, policy proclamations may be at variance with the actual internalization and implementation of the unity ideal by individual academics. Moreover, without studying their beliefs and values, it is impossible to tell the genuine, objective institutionalization of this ideal in a given university from clever strategic responses to the constraints of external environment (Mugabi, 2014; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

The constraints placed by the external environment – *prima facie*, by the state and the market (Townley, 1999) – urge HEIs to adopt the philosophy of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) that treats research and education as commodities, and the methods of NPM/neo-liberal managerialism (Christensen & Lægreid, 2011; Parker, 2013) that promote efficiency, productivity, and sustainability. In this context, the third mission has become an instrument of fundraising and public legitimation of academic work. Rigid and mercantile conceptualizations of this mission, which intrude on the long-established ethos of the academic profession, have naturally triggered continuous resistance in the academic community (see, e.g., Collini, 2012, or Halffman & Radder, 2015). However, the conflict between professionals and managers is not inevitable. As institutional pressures are able to condition scholars' motivation and behavior, so scholars are able to develop creative solutions that strike a balance between conflicting values and interests (Lepori, 2016; Normand, 2016). To learn, how academics mitigate the pervasive effects of coercive demands on their work, one needs to learn, how they rationalize the environment and the imperative to engage with the society.

The problems referred to above apply to a variety of countries and HEIs. This includes Finland that witnesses an erosion of the Nordic welfare state model (Greve, 2011), which has a direct impact on the financing and governance of Finnish higher education. At the same time, these problems are peculiar to the university analyzed in the study – the institution is "civic by history and culture", but "strategic efforts trail behind" (Sotarauta, 2016, p. 123). Namely, societal engagement is embedded in the university mission on the policy level and in the core tasks of research and teaching on a personal level, but organizational processes, structures, and services do not keep up with the strategy and concerns of the faculty. Comprehension of how academics make sense of the third mission in their routine work, as their institution oscillates between its regional role and international ambition, may help university leaders with translating the unity ideal into a support system.

1.2 Research Gap

An influential series of studies on the changing academic profession in international comparative perspective (Teichler et al., 2013) features a discussion of key challenges and research questions relating to the integration of third mission activities into the university and,

specifically, into academics' research and teaching roles. Recently, it has identified the following gaps in knowledge (Ćulum et al., 2013b, pp. 188-189):

1) How do academics relate to the current (internal and external) pressures associated with extending of the traditional teaching and research? Do they accept the new expectations or resist them by thinking it questions the core academic activities?
2) Do academics place the extending activities in addition to teaching and research (third mission) or advocate the integration and readjustment of the traditional teaching and research?
3) Does the current rewarding structure recognize extended (third mission/service) activities?
4) What are the functional and structural stimuli that higher education institutions may create to promote university civic engagement, integration of the concept of civic mission and the education for sustainable development?

Coincidently, Pinheiro et al. (2015b) have also observed that, up to date, not much has been known about how individual academics respond to political and financial pressures to engage with external partners. They have called for a micro-level analysis of the third mission and confronted a homogenizing approach that neglects disciplinary differences within scientific fields. Meaning that, within social sciences, academics from more basic and more applied disciplines will not necessarily engage with the same stakeholders, or in the same manner, and their experiences and perceptions of societal engagement may differ. For this reason, institutional management "needs to take into account the complex and multifaceted characteristics of disciplinary, institutional fields and individual academic profiles" (Pinheiro et al., 2015b, p. 244).

Finally, a careful review of the literature on the relationship between universities and industry has discovered that little attention has been paid to the reverse effects of public engagement on academic work, *teaching* in particular (Perkmann et al., 2013). For example, no conclusive evidence has been collected as to whether knowledge exchange is significantly advantageous or detrimental to research productivity. Thus, exposure to the society seems to have had both positive and negative consequences for publishing, and though some studies have indicated improvement in quality for collaborative papers, others have registered a decline in the number of publications.

Similarly, no sufficient evidence has been presented for admitting a negative correlation between industry engagement and open science. Besides, since findings and conclusions may vary by scientific field, it is even more important to survey how these phenomena play out in SSH. While commercial engagement in STE could restrict open access due to secrecy agreements, societal (civic, community) engagement in SSH could, on the contrary, uphold it; and, while STE academics may believe that commercialization activities establish their reputation, SSH academics may be more likely to think they imperil it.

Few existing inquiries into scholars' sensemaking of societal engagement and its influences on academic work (Nieminen & Kaukonen, 2001; Perkmann & Phillips, 2011; Watermeyer, 2015) have used different methodological approaches, concepts, and analytical frameworks (grounded theory, innovation systems, institutional arbitrage, etc.) and have generated fine-grained, but scattered data and results, which complicates comparisons and generalizations. This theoretical diversity arises not only from disciplinary silos, but also from institutional complexity: "situations in universities are complex, conflicted and routinely elude many

theoretical abstractions" (Välimaa & Hoffman, 2008, p. 273). Accordingly, research on academics' rationalization of these situations requires an analytical perspective that is capable of capturing complexity. What is more, it should be able to link micro-level accounts of academics' professional identity and sensemaking to the wider societal complexity that informs them (Clarke, Hyde, & Drennan, 2013; Lepori, 2016). Therefore, the study employs the theoretical approach of institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012) for data analysis.

Institutional theory and the use of institutional logics perspective in research on higher education have, in their turn, accumulated developments and gaps that are analogous to the ones above. First and foremost, the recent focus of institutional theory on "people- and activity-rich accounts in which the ongoing work of interpretation, sensemaking, and struggles over identity and meaning are vivid" (Aten, Grenville-Howard, & Ventresca, 2012, p. 80; cf. Cai & Mehari, 2015) complements the call for a micro-level analysis of the third mission.

Previously, organizational-level studies were taking precedence over the studies of actors' ideas, meanings, and interpretations (Zilber, 2013). The increasing prominence of the role of individual actors and the scantly investigated responses to institutional complexity create a need for more scholarship on the actors' embeddedness and treatment of multiple institutional logics, as well as on the activation and translation of logics in the process of sensemaking (Smets & Jarzabkowski, 2013; Thornton et al., 2012; Zilber, 2013). Obtaining more knowledge on these topics should contribute to the evolving debate around the dichotomy of structure vs. agency – that is, whether individual actions are free or determined by social structures (Zilber, 2012).

Secondly, examination of the actors' reactions to institutional complexity is wanting of attention to the construction of individual identity responses (Hatch & Zilber, 2012; Lok, 2010; Thornton et al., 2012), which coincides with the plea for connecting academics' identity to the wider societal dynamics. To this end, further research is necessary to elucidate how changes in logics correlate with changes in identities (Thornton et al., 2012).

Lastly, Cai and Mehari (2015) have shown that the application of institutional theory to higher education has, too, been imbalanced, with grand policy and management studies by far outnumbering scrupulous studies of academic issues on the level of individuals, programs and units. *Inter alia*, it has been suggested that research on higher education issues from the institutional logics perspective should give extra consideration a) to the formalization of the content of logics in the higher education field and to the analysis of related vocabularies; and b) to a more positive assessment of emerging hybrids of professional and exogeneous logics and of their implications for academic work, identities and roles (Lepori, 2016), which is congruent with the gaps identified by Ćulum et al. (2013b). In sum, both higher education studies and institutional logics studies agree on the present-day research gaps to fill in.

Of the above-listed research gaps, this paper primarily addresses the following ones:

1) How academics from social sciences interpret the meaning and value of societal engagement;
2) How they react to the pressures associated with the practice of societal engagement;
3) How they perceive the relationship between societal engagement and their core academic activities;
4) How the practice of societal engagement correlates with their professional identities.

To a lesser degree, the study targets the challenge of developing organizational solutions for reward, recognition, and support of societal engagement.

1.3 Research Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of the current research is to explore how academics working in the field of social sciences in a research university perceive societal engagement and its impact on their academic work within a wider interinstitutional context.

The main research question of this study is, *how do academics in social sciences make sense of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective*?

This question is further broken down into the following sub-questions:

1) What are the institutional logics shaping academics' perceptions of societal engagement?
2) What institutional logics underlie academics' motivation to engage with the society?
3) What institutional logics influence academics' understanding of the impact of societal engagement on research and teaching?
4) What are the institutional logics related to academics' role identities?
5) How do academics respond to competing institutional logics concerning societal engagement?

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study could be significant in three ways. Firstly, it should lessen the gaps in the knowledge base by showcasing how academics respond to multiple pressures arising from the obligation to engage with the society; how the ideal unity of the three missions and the effects of societal engagement on research and teaching are interpreted on the individual level; and how the practice of societal engagement comports with academics' professional roles. Furthermore, the study takes into account academics' disciplinary profile and contributes to the meager body of literature on university-society interactions in social sciences (Bastow et al., 2014; Bullard, 2007; Olmos Peñuela, 2013).

The thesis should also add to the existing body of institutional theory research in the field of higher education. Its particular advantage is that it utilizes the institutional logics perspective that has hitherto been almost entirely overlooked in higher education studies. Additionally, it shifts the focus of scholarly attention from the external effects of university-society interactions, such as evidence-based policymaking or academic spin-offs, to their internal effects on the faculty.

Secondly, the theoretical significance of this study lies in its development of a novel analytical framework for the analysis of institutionally constructed sensemaking, and of an original model of institutional logics characteristic of academics' role identities. Both the framework and the model are based on institutional logics theory. They facilitate explanation of attitudes towards various pressures encountered by professionals in the modern academia, and of their choices of practices as rooted in the underlying structures of the society. Both of them could be adapted and applied in further research. The analytical framework could also be used for the analysis of individual sensemaking in other institutional fields because it is grounded in universal mechanisms and comprises elements that accompany any sensemaking process from the

institutional logics perspective – namely, the salient features of the environment; identities, motivation, and experience of social actors; and their potential responses to the interplay of these elements.

Thirdly, the study aspires to bring added value to the practical development of university-society interactions in Finland and in the case university (cf. Ritsilä et al., 2008) by probing whether societal engagement is part of the national and organizational models of reward and recognition, and what the university in point could do to support it. Research findings shed light on the academics' perceptions of the tensions between the research and service missions and the ensuing implications for strategic human resource management not only in the case university, but also in other research-oriented HEIs. Likewise, results of the study could be instrumental for policymakers and university managers seeking ways of increasing the effectiveness and impact of social sciences and striving to integrate social sciences into local and/or national innovation systems in other countries.

1.5 Structure of the Study

The thesis is organized in *six chapters*. The *present chapter* introduces the study; it states the problem and the purpose of the study, specifies the research question, highlights the significance of this research, and describes its organization. The *second chapter* presents the analytical framework for the study that is developed on the basis of the institutional logics theory that conceives of sensemaking as the actors' rationalization of the salient environment conditioned by individual intentionality. In *chapter three*, the thesis turns to the description of research design, data collection, characteristics of the participants, and methods of analysis; examination of methodology further leads to an inquiry into validity, reliability, and limitations of this research. *Chapter four* is devoted to the discussion of societal engagement in social sciences based on a review of scholarly literature; it also lays groundwork for the subsequent case analysis by outlining national policies on societal engagement. *Chapter five* proceeds with the analysis of the selected case that relies on documents and interview data; the structure of the chapter follows the analytical steps stipulated in the framework. The *final chapter* summarizes research findings, discusses them in light of academic literature, reflects on their implications for university managers and policymakers, and concludes with suggestions for future research.

2. Analytical Framework

The chapter introduces the analytical framework for the present case study which is derived from the institutional logics theory. It recognizes academics as social actors and situates their perceptions in a wider interinstitutional context; illustrates the reciprocal relationships between subjective interpretative processes and collective rationalities, including those that are commonly found in the field of higher education; provides explanations and examples for the major analytical categories, such as institutional orders and logics; highlights the concepts like identity and sensemaking that stand in the spotlight of this research; and maps out tentative individual responses to institutional complexity. The chapter opens with an overview of the origins and foundations of the theory which is followed by an account of scholarly publications that utilize it in higher education research. Next, the chapter elaborates on basic categories and models that are essential for constructing the analytical framework and adapts them to the institutional field of higher education. In the end, it synthesizes all elements in a framework for the analysis of academics' sensemaking of societal engagement.

2.1 Institutional Logics Perspective

2.1.1 Institutional logics perspective: origins and major premises

In the current study, the research problem is approached from the perspective of institutional logics, which has been proffered as "a metatheoretical framework for analyzing the interrelationships among institutions, individuals, and organizations in social systems" in a seminal work by Thornton et al. (2012, p. 2). This perspective allows to investigate micro-sociological phenomena without reducing them to actor-centric explanations (Jepperson & Meyer, 2011). Instead, individual motivations and behaviors are viewed in a wider institutional context.

The understanding of what the institutional context stands for may vary depending on the theoretical stance of a particular author. Jepperson (1991), for instance, describes institutions as "those social patterns that, when chronically reproduced, owe their survival to relatively self-activating social processes" (p. 145), thus causing the reader to muse on their processual and performative aspects. Moreover, although he specifies the term *patterns* to mean "standardized interaction sequences" (Jepperson, 1991, p. 145), it is very much reminiscent of behaviorism, and this impression is subsequently reinforced by references to "programmed actions" and "common responses to situations" (p. 147). In contrast, Hodgson (2006) regards institutions as "systems of established and embedded social rules that structure social interactions" (p. 18), emphasizing their normative nature and precluding any behaviorist associations. Nonetheless, the two agree that individual operations are rooted in broader institutional frameworks.

In the same vein, the theoretical approach of the institutional logics views individual and organizational actors as situated in an interinstitutional system. The system consists of seven institutional orders – family, community, religion, state, market, profession, and corporation (Thornton et al., 2012). Each order is postulated as an ideal type with distinctive characteristics and unique logics that affect the actors' behavior at multiple levels – societal, interorganizational, intraorganizational, and individual. Institutions are composed of interdependent material (structures, practices) and cultural (symbols, ideas, meanings) elements. These can be separated analytically, and then, epistemological primacy is given to culture which structures action, lies at the heart of institutionalization, and sustains stability.

However, such structuration does not impede agency, innovation and transformation, whereupon institutional orders and logics are historically contingent.

The institutional logics approach was conceived within the general domain of the institutional theory as a critique of neoinstitutionalism and isomorphism, and in opposition to some other intellectual streams in the sociology of organizations, such as functionalism or rational choice theory. It can be included with the general *semiotic* current in social sciences that seeks explanation in codes or paradigms that prompt human action rather than in rigid cause and effect connections (Weber, Patel, & Heinze, 2013). Thornton et al. (2012) trace its origins to various scholars who, following the cultural turn in social sciences in the late 1970s, were concerned with the cultural-cognitive aspects of institutions and organizations. *Inter alia*, they pay tribute to Meyer and Rowan (1977) who examined the influence of rationalized myths and cultural rules on formal organizational structures, Zucker (1977) who shifted the attention of scholars from the internalization of values to the role of socially constructed cultural understandings in the process of institutionalization, and March and Olsen (1989) who contrasted the logic of instrumentalism (actors' internal interests and goals) with the logic of appropriateness (external expectations of actors) to explain identities and behaviors.

Furthermore, Thornton et al. (2012) capitalize on the research of DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 1991) who regarded state, professions, and market as institutional sectors providing a rationale and legitimacy to organizations. Similarly, they are indebted to the studies of DiMaggio (1991) and Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) who introduced Weberian *ideal types* into the analysis of the interrelation between individual actors, organizations, and their environment, as well as illustrated how perceptions of what is rational and appropriate change from one sector or *polity* to another. Finally, Thornton et al. give consideration to Scott's (1995, 2008) competing typology of three institutional "pillars" – that is, major regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements of institutions that are diffused through the medium of *carriers*, or symbolic and relation systems, routines, and artefacts, – but contest the typology's theoretical power. In addition, they argue that, being of a more general nature, cultural-cognitive perceptions underlie the understanding of regulations and norms.

Thornton et al. (2012) acknowledge a particular contribution of Friedland and Alford (1991) to the proliferation of the institutional logics perspective. In their essay, Friedland and Alford (1991) coined the term *institutional logics* and defined it as "a set of material practices and symbolic constructions" that is "available to organizations and individuals to elaborate" (p. 248). The two scholars envisioned society as an interinstitutional system, where individual and organizational actors transform social reality by creatively exploiting contradictions between the institutional logics of different autonomous orders – capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion.

By doing so, Friedland and Alford (1991) offered a viable interpretation of how macro structures connect to micro processes and made away with the opposition of interests and norms, since both are viewed as infused by the institutions. Likewise, they discarded the duality of symbolic systems and material practices because institutional logics shape meanings and actions alike – thus, for instance, the democratic logic of "participation and the extension of popular control over human activity… is concretized through voting" (Friedland and Alford, 1991, pp. 248-249). They achieved this, however, without rendering sensemaking and performance predetermined. Logics simultaneously facilitate stability by constraining the repertoire of meanings and behaviors and provide opportunities by virtue of their relativity and

multiplicity, as well as through the mechanisms of decoupling, ultimately empowering agents to change the existing logics.

Thornton and Ocasio (1999) have amplified Friedland and Alford's (1991) definition of institutional logics, describing them as "the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804). A somewhat similar definition was suggested by Jackall a decade earlier, in 1988. According to this author, institutional logic is "the complicated, experientially constructed, and thereby contingent set of rules, premiums and sanctions that men and women in particular contexts create and recreate in such a way that their behavior and accompanying perspective are to some extent regularized and predictable. Put succinctly, an institutional logic is the way a particular social world works" (Jackall, 1988, p. 112).

The proximity of the two definitions is evident – they both emphasize social and cognitive premises of human activity, yet Jackall's (1988) designation of institutional logics is narrower. It was formulated in an ethnographic study on managerial notions of ethics and truth in corporate organizations, independently and in parallel with the developments within the institutional theory. His research concentrated on the constraining power of regulative and normative elements ("rules, premiums and sanctions") at the meso-level, whereas the perspective of institutional logics as delineated by Thornton et al. (2012) accounts, firstly, for all three levels – micro, meso, and macro; secondly, for conflict and change; and, finally, for a wider range of cultural elements.

Institutional logics has become one of the central streams within contemporary institutionalism and organizational theory (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin-Andersson, & Suddaby, 2008; Zilber, 2013). It offers a comprehensive theoretical framework that has incorporated insights from neoinstitutionalism, constructivism, social and cognitive psychology and other research paradigms and fields. Furthermore, it has been applied in multiple empirical contexts, such as health care organizations, equity markets, accounting firms, symphony orchestras, higher education publishing, colleges and universities, etc. (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012). For the purpose of current research, it is worth reviewing those studies that employ the institutional logics approach in the latter context – higher education institutions.

2.1.2 Institutional logics perspective in higher education research

Despite multiple occurrences of the term "institutional logics" in scholarship on higher education, the vast majority of studies use it in a metaphorical sense or give it an arbitrary interpretation that has no relation to the institutional logics perspective as a strand of institutional theory, or to its analytical apparatus (Lepori, 2016). In a comprehensive literature review of the use of institutional theory in higher education research, Cai and Mehari (2015) suggest that the institutional logics perspective has a lot of potential for the analysis of higher education phenomena because it "affords an opportunity to integrate both cultural and symbolic dimensions and structural and market aspects of organizational environment" (p. 14) – the environment, in which universities are located. However, they also notice that very few studies have applied this perspective until now, and these have been largely neglected in the mainstream of higher education literature.

Lepori (2016) agrees with Cai and Mehari (2015) on these points and emphasizes a special utility of the institutional logics perspective for the analysis of tensions between managerialism

and academic profession in modern universities. It is the logics tradition that provides "a more nuanced framework, where actors in the higher education field can be strategic and creative in responding to the conflicting pressure of managerial and academic logics, beyond the simple choice between adoption and resistance" (Lepori, 2016, p. 253).

Townley's (1997) pioneering investigation of a clash between the logics of personal performance appraisal (i.e., corporation logics) and academic profession in British universities provides a perfect illustration for Lepori's (2016) argument. In her paper, she demonstrates that the concept of institutional logics is well-designed for explaining how and why individual actors resist global isomorphic pressures. Specifically, she shows how profession logics provided academics in the UK with a repertoire of identities, beliefs, and values that allowed them to contest the legitimacy of managerialist performance appraisal systems. As a result, these systems were not adopted in the corporate, judgmental form envisioned by the government. Instead, they were, by and large, assimilated into the academia as developmental reviews that were compatible with the logics of research and teaching quality and academic collegiality. In return, publicly funded salaries were linked to performance indicators, enforcing the corporate logics through performance-related pay.

Gumport (2000) takes up the subject and analyzes changes in the U.S. higher education sector from the perspective of competing institutional logics. She observes how neoclassical market logics behind the idea of public HEIs as social institutions are replaced with neoliberal market logics that conceive of higher education as an industry and of HEIs as corporations. The coexistence of two legitimating ideas generates multiple pressures and perils, as short-term gains in economic efficiency and flexibility come with long-term losses in historical identities and democratic functions of universities and academics. She surmises that viewing organizational challenges as connected to a broader social order and attracting more public actors to discussing managerial choices and their consequences might mitigate the detriment of the new logics to the society.

Two more attempts at applying the institutional logics perspective to the U.S. higher education deal with changes in admissions and learning. Thus, Mohr and Lee (2000) explore the relationship between identities and institutionalized practices and show how a move from individualistic discourse centered on race to a corporation discourse centered on community and class led to a move from affirmative action to outreach policies of maintaining diversity in student admissions. Lounsbury and Pollack (2001), furthermore, track the institutionalization of community engagement practices in university curricula down to changes in field-level logics. They notice that emergence of open-system pedagogy in higher education and activity of cultural entrepreneurs who communicated the logics of service learning in new terms made it first an acceptable, and then a legitimate, mainstream teaching method. With that, while teachers were challenged by the tasks accompanying service learning, such as building relationships with external communities, activists were challenged by the fact that subordination of community engagement practices to disciplinary logics re-focused the attention of practitioners from the development of civic and social responsibility in students to their cognitive development.

Thornton (2002) highlights correlations between institutional logics and organizational goals and structures. She surveys the dependency of multidivisional organization and short-term profit goals on the rising salience of market logics in the formerly profession-based industry of higher education publishing, which used to be guided by the editorial logics of prestige and sales growth. Bastedo (2009), in his turn, insists on the heuristic value of the institutional logics

theory for understanding state policymaking in the arena of public higher education. He surveys the dependency of governance and organizational behavior on the beliefs and values of policymakers. Observing the replacement of regulatory-bureaucratic logics with activist logics, Bastedo concludes that an accurate grasp of institutional logics allows to foresee policy conflicts, solutions, and forms of implementation.

Several papers examine the relationship between academic and commercial science with recourse to the institutional logics that underpin them. For example, Colyvas (2007) appreciates this perspective for its ability to explain the link between admissible individual behaviors and wider cultural framings. She presents the beginnings of Stanford University technology transfer in life sciences as a process of academic sensemaking of commercial science. By navigating the ambiguities, constraints, and opportunities of profession and market logics, scientists formed commercial practices that were legitimate from the academic point of view and matched their professional goals, such as enhancing research and reputation. Notably, Colyvas demonstrates the prominence of positive initial experiences for integrative sensemaking choices and identity transformations. Sharing this opinion, Berman (2012) traces the expansion of market-logic practices in HEIs to earlier successful developments in faculty entrepreneurship, patenting, and university-industry research. Conjoined with policies that favor science as an engine of innovation, these developments eventually pushed university leaders to facilitate the translation of academic science into economic impact.

Next, Murray (2010) and Swan, Bresnen, Robertson, Newell, and Dopson (2010) document a subjugation of commercial logics to academic logics in the field of genetics, but with an emphasis on distinction and contestation rather than coexistence of science and industry. Murray shows how academics utilized the resources of commercial logics to protect the ideals of science instead of monetizing it. For instance, they altered the meaning of patenting so that it could reinforce professional practices and open source science. Her study argues for including cases of rejection and compartmentalization of external logics under the category of hybrids and for paying more attention to the external environment – power structures, legal flexibility, etc. – when analyzing hybridization of logics. Swan et al. arrive at similar inferences, albeit via a different analytical framework which equates academic logics with "Mode 1" and commercial logics with "Mode 2" of knowledge production and dissemination (Gibbons et al., 1994, as cited in Swan et al., 2010). Nevertheless, they, too, find evidence that a comingling of competing logics sometimes steers progress in unintended ways – namely, it triggers resistance and strengthens the old logics.

Fini and Lacetera (2010) contribute to the discussion of the commercialization of research activities in the academia by conducting a review of literature that helps to understand what logics shape academics' decisions to engage in commercialization. Their particular contribution consists in showing how academic logics get replicated in firms, and what logics influence business decisions to outsource research to university partners. Finally, they single out those logics of the academic profession that condition research misconduct and commercialization of fraudulent research (e.g., informational advantage of the author, expert reputation and peer reviewing). In a related study, Fini and Toschi (2015) try to account for cognitive and institutional factors that condition the implementation of corporate entrepreneurial intentions and discover that academic entrepreneurs remain influenced by academic logics, for example, in that they prioritize technical competencies over entrepreneurial self-efficacy and managerial skills.

Dunn and Jones (2010) also target profession logics in the academia, but in an innovative way. They focus on the field of medical education and on the heterogeneity of logics and shifts of attention *within* the profession. That is, they interpret changes in the field as changes in the equilibrium of *intra*professional logics – in their case, the logics of healthcare and science. In addition, they clarify why the same logic can be more salient in some sector of the professional field (e.g., journals addressing practitioners), but have less influence on the educational sector.

A new concept of *institutional arbitrage* was introduced by Perkmann and colleagues (Perkmann & Phillips, 2011; Perkmann et al., 2011) in a series of studies on the institutional complexity in university-industry cooperation. This concept applies to situations when academics leverage the institutional distance between the academia and its partners to create benefits associated with ideas, resources, and legitimacy, without contaminating their initial logics. Perkmann et al. (2011) notice that actors with a high status in their field or organizations are more likely to approach hybridization of logics, the difference being that the former prefer the strategy of institutional arbitrage, whereas the latter are more open to internalizing alternative logics. Villani and Phillips (2013), furthermore, look for the most effective managerial strategies to deal with institutional complexity in university technology transfer and find that the keys to success are employing boundary spanners – people who can access both academic and industry logics and act as mediators; mirroring institutional demands by specifying roles, work and task division; and "buffering" rather than directly linking institutional logics, in a manner similar to arbitrage.

A paper by Blaschke, Frost, and Hattke (2014) adds to the topic by offering ingenious insights into the hybrid logics underlying leadership, governance, and management in HEIs. Having performed a quantitative longitudinal analysis of minutes from university senate meetings, they disagree with the conceptualization of the logics of managerialism (corporation) and collegialism (profession) as inexorably antagonistic. The authors identify four micro patterns of communicating institutional logics – agenda building, critical reflection, devising, and debriefing – that facilitate the complementarity of corporate and professional logics. Owing to a nonlinear organizational restructuring that unfolds in these micro patterns, increased managerial regulation does not encroach upon the core issues of research and teaching, preserving the academic autonomy and authority over them.

Canhilal, Lepori, and Seeber (2015) corroborate the last observation in another large-scale quantitative study. They reckon that, although NPM pressures are strongly correlated with the steepness of managerial hierarchies and growth of organizational rationality in universities, compliance with corporate logics is very selective and is dependent upon the power of the academic logics, such as collegiality and participation in decision-making on teaching and research. Their work presents evidence of balancing and compartmentalizing diverging logics in the academia: to achieve compliance and legitimacy, HEIs adopt those logics and practices that do not overtly conflict with academic values and behaviors, and keep the core of the profession intact.

By comparing hospitals and universities in Norway, Berg and Pinheiro (2016) further extend the evidence base of hybrid management practices in the public sector. Their interviews with boundary-crossing professionals in leadership positions feature examples of blended managerial, professional and neo-bureaucratic logics. On the flip side, Mampaey & Huisman (2016) poise the hybridization agenda that lays stress on consensus and blending by theorizing defensive media responses of a European research-intensive university to stakeholder criticism. They argue that HEIs deploy conflict-reducing strategies only when stakeholders

criticize elements of salient logic(s), whilst in all other cases, HEIs deploy conflict-inducing strategies, irrespective of the salience of the stakeholder.

In a number of collaborative publications, Cai, Zheng, and their co-authors (see below) advance the application of the institutional logics perspective in higher education research by constructing various analytical frameworks with the help of this theory. Thus, Cai and Zheng (2016) propose an original framework for the analysis of the relationships between identities and policies and reveal how a new constellation of institutional logics behind the academic promotion system in China brought about a new hybrid academic identity. Zheng, Cai, and Ma (2017) combine insights from institutional theory and innovation studies to develop an analytical framework for understanding the institutionalization of quality assurance systems in international joint doctoral programs. They test it on a case of a Portuguese-Chinese program to define the composition of institutional logics throughout the institutionalization process, which appears to be affected by the profitability and compatibility of the quality assurance system and by institutional entrepreneurs (system coordinators). Finally, following in the footsteps of Zheng, Shen, and Cai (2016) who created a framework for scrutinizing the multiple institutional logics that influence the doctoral education system in China, Zheng, Shen, Kivistö, & Cai (2017) assess the combinability of institutional logics in Chinese and Finnish doctoral education, with the goal of enhancing educational cooperation between the two countries. Inspecting five country-specific sets of logics – state, profession, family, market, and corporation, – they detect that the sets are, in principle, compatible. Still, they also infer that stakeholders and practitioners (e.g., supervisors) should be aware of some essential differences between the logics to be able to establish and maintain an effective cooperation.

Last but not least, Upton and Warshaw (2017), starting out from Gumport's (2000) distinction between HEIs as social institutions and industrial corporations, question the extent of market-driven transformation of public research universities. They examine institutional logics at the campus level, as these have been materializing over 15 years in mission statements and planning documents of the universities once studied by Gumport. Their findings demonstrate that some of Gumport's concerns and predictions cannot be sustained. For instance, the relationship between *industry* (market and corporation) logic and *social institution* (state, community, and profession) logic is that of coexistence rather than of domination or replacement. Moreover, industry logics have given a renewed impulse to the logics of higher education as a social institution. This paper gets the nearest to the analysis of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective when the authors illustrate the latter point with examples from third mission statements that couple economic and social justice outcomes – innovative development with quality of life, graduate employability with social needs, and industrial productivity with service to the people. They suggest that these logics are blended to such an extent that they might be viewed as a whole new logic. At least, it is no longer possible to regard them as separate. Upton and Warshaw conclude that, "The concept of hybrid or blended logics suggests a promising framework for understanding how universities can and do manage and exploit tensions in their missions" (p. 100).

This literature review exposes that the studies that capitalize on the institutional logics perspective for research on higher education are heavily focused on STE disciplines and on the industrial engagement of HEIs. No studies deal exclusively with social sciences, very few take more than two sets of logics into consideration, and none explore the institutional logics underlying societal engagement on the individual level. The analytical framework proposed below is meant to rise to these challenges.

2.2 Institutional Logics: Macro to Micro Translation in Institutional Analysis

Before constructing the analytical framework, it is essential to clarify a few core concepts – agency, institutional orders, institutional logics, institutional complexity, focus of attention, social identity, and sensemaking.

The concept of *agency* was originally advanced by DiMaggio (1988) in a seminal paper on interest and agency in institutional theory. The term broadly refers to "an actor's ability to have some effect on the social world – altering the rules, relational ties, or distribution of resources" (Scott, 2008, p. 77). Stated differently, it is "the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments – the temporal-relational contexts of action – which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgment, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations" (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998, p. 970). This study conceives of academics as such *agents*. As Giroux (1988) insightfully remarks, although, looking at university intellectuals through a political rather than sociological lens, "The intellectual is more than a person of letters, or a producer and transmitter of ideas. Intellectuals are also mediators, legitimators, and producers of ideas and social practices" (p. 151).

The term *institutional order* was introduced by Friedland and Alford (1991) to denote a subsystem of societal institutions organized around a foundation institution encapsulating cultural symbols and material practices that dominate some area of social life. As mentioned above, initially, they identified five orders – the market, the bureaucratic state, democracy, the nuclear family, and Christian religion, but these, obviously, were operational only in the context of the Western civilization and were problematic in other ways, too. Therefore, Thornton et al. (2012) offered an alternative typology of orders (*Table 1* below), each representing a governance system that preconditions actors' perceptions and sensemaking choices.

Institutional logics, defined by Thornton and Ocasio (1999) as "the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (p. 804), are rationalities and blueprints of actions peculiar to each institutional order. Thornton et al. (2012) categorize them by specific organizing principles – logics that shape identities are listed under the source of identity, logics that guide actions are ascribed to the basis of strategy, etc. (*Table 1* below). Notably, their categorization is suggestive rather than exhaustive, and can be challenged and ingeniously exploited.

The notion of *institutional complexity* was conceived by Greenwood, Díaz, Li, and Lorente (2010) to conceptualize the fact that organizations in any institutional field confront logics from multiple orders and work out heterogeneous responses to their overlaps. This situation, however, is not unique to organizations – individual actors also deal with institutional complexity in professional practice and daily life.

Institutional logics constrain individual behavior and cognition by *focusing* actors' *attention* in both automatic and willful ways. Attention, succinctly explained as allocation of cognitive resources for information processing (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 89), is *automatic* when it is directed to taken-for-granted, routine conditions, and *controlled* when directed to novel, salient circumstances that involve decision-making. Although logics generally determine the

problems and solutions that are likely to be processed, the focus of attention also depends on the most salient stimuli in the environment, like unusual behaviors or new policy pressures. Among all possible logics available to an individual, not all are equally accessible. Actors normally access habitual logics that have shaped their identities, social and cultural experience. Nevertheless, in unusual situations, they may choose to activate some of the available but previously unclaimed logics that now seem more applicable. Hence, the *focus of attention* and individual *agency* appear as both embedded in logics and situated in the environment.

Furthermore, *social* or *collective identity* is one of the key concepts of the institutional logics perspective that sheds light on permanency and transformation in institutions and organizations (Friedland & Alford, 1991). In the context of neoinstitutionalism, identity can be broadly defined as "the institutional notions of who or what any social actor might or should be in a particular institutional context, and, by implication, how the actor should act" (Lok, 2010, p. 1308; cf. Townley, 2008 on the logic of appropriateness). Identities are likewise conditioned by logics.

Last but not least, *sensemaking* is described by Thornton et al. (2012) as "the process by which social actors turn circumstances into situations that are comprehended explicitly in words and that serve as springboards for action" (p. 96). The process is *retrospective* in that it rationalizes observed behaviors and *prospective* in that it verbalizes identities and logics that transform the existing organizations and institutions or give rise to new ones. The communicatory and narrative nature of sensemaking warrants more research into the *vocabularies* from different sets of logics that are employed in the process.

2.2.1 Institutional orders as governance systems preconditioning actors' sensemaking

Institutional orders are theoretical abstractions, or ideal types that highlight essential categories structuring actors' perceptions of their material practices. That is, a particular decision, action, and their evaluation can be attributed to the influence of a particular institutional order and its logics. Among the orders identified by Thornton et al. (2012), five are presumed to be especially relevant for the current topic: *state*, *market*, *corporation*, *profession*, and *community* (*Table 1*). While it has to be admitted that the institutional orders of family and religion may have a bearing on the academics' professional life (Clegg, 2008), it is hardly probable that in the context of a modern Nordic society they would play a leading role, since "modern societies are typically more influenced by the logics of the state, the professions, the corporation, and the market" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 12; cf. the role of family logic in the context of the Chinese higher education in Cai & Zheng, 2016 and the limited discussion of family logic in Finnish doctoral education in Zheng, Shen et al., 2017). In addition, it might be much more difficult to account for them than for the more immediate logics of the other orders in the case under investigation; thus, the logics of religion could be frequently accessed by academics from some Faculty of Theology, but are unlikely to influence social scientists in the same way.

According to Thornton et al. (2012), on the most general level, *state* logics dictate a perception of the state as a redistribution mechanism that organizes citizens by class and status, combines democratic participation with bureaucracy and backroom politics, is based on welfare principles and strives to increase public good. *Market* logics underlie behaviors driven by considerations of private interest, economic competition, and profit gains. *Corporation* logics are externalized in organizational hierarchies and performance-based terms of employment.

Community logics appear in groups of people united by common values, ideas, interests and goals, and in cooperative relationships built on trust and reciprocal investment that demand transparency and establish reputations. At last, *profession* logics are sustained by a monopoly of a professional network over the content and quality of members' expertise, with standards set by celebrity professionals.

Table 1

Interinstitutional system ideal types

Orders / *Categories*	**State**	**Market**	**Corporation**	**Community**	**Profession**
Root Metaphor	State as redistribution mechanism	Transaction	Corporation as hierarchy	Common boundary	Profession as relational network
Sources of Legitimacy	Democratic participation	Share price	Market position of firm	Unity of will Belief in trust & reciprocity	Personal expertise
Sources of Authority	Bureaucratic domination	Shareholder activism	Board of directors Top management	Commitment to community values & ideology	Professional association
Sources of Identity	Social & economic class	Faceless	Bureaucratic roles	Emotional connection Ego-satisfaction & reputation	Association with quality of craft Personal reputation
Basis of Norms	Citizenship in nation	Self-interest	Employment in firm	Group membership	Membership in guild & association
Basis of Attention	Status of interest group	Status in market	Status in hierarchy	Personal investment in group	Status in profession
Basis of Strategy	Increase community good	Increase efficiency profit	Increase size & diversification of firm	Increase status & honor of members & practices	Increase personal reputation
Informal Control Mechanisms	Backroom politics	Industry analysts	Organization culture	Visibility of actions	Celebrity professionals
Economic System	Welfare capitalism	Market capitalism	Managerial capitalism	Cooperative capitalism	Personal capitalism

Note. Reprinted from Thornton et al., 2012, p. 73.

The five orders listed in *Table 1* have been selected for this research because, firstly and obviously, the academics represent a distinctive profession. Namely, they are distinguished by knowledge-based expertise acquired through formal training and certification; by social prestige; and by normative commitment enforced through professional associations (Abbott, 1988). Secondly, the practice of societal engagement imminently exposes them to the logics of their audiences and their partners in projects outside the academia – the state and the market, communities and corporations. Thirdly, in recent years, the university as an organization has been heavily influenced by market logics that promote efficiency, profitability, and sustainability (Townley, 1997; Winter, 2009). Previously, the administration of HEIs in many

countries was isomorphic to that of the state (Cai & Zheng, 2016; Gumport, 2000). By virtue of new public management, universities have now globally taken on the features of corporations – market positioning, a greater role of managerial steering, new modes of employment, etc. (Bleiklie, Enders, Lepori, & Musselin, 2011; Maassen, 2003). Lastly, even though the academics have been increasingly affected by these developments, they retain their fundamental affiliation with the academic community inside universities and across the disciplines (Lamont & Nordberg, 2014), and with the associated logics. Moreover, they engage with modern networking and organizational models, such as entrepreneurial cooperatives or virtual communities, and with the community logics of these groups.

2.2.2 Translation of societal-level logics to the individual level

One merit of the institutional logics perspective is that it helps to explain how macro categories work at the micro level – what mechanisms facilitate the engagement of the individuals with the institutional logics, and how these processes can be captured. Some strands of the institutional theory address this issue through the concept of *translation*, which represents all cognitive operations involved into the interpretation, contextualization, and concrete implementation of abstract ideas, as well as their transfer over space and time (Czarniawska and Sevón, 1996; Jepperson, 1991; Zilber, 2006). Generic logics are translated into specific ones, communicated to various recipients, and appropriated in particular settings, with new meanings reshaping material practices, or, recursively, with new meanings being adapted to existing practices (Colyvas & Powell, 2006). The transposition of the market logics to HEIs, for example, has led to the institutionalization of new structures, such as technology transfer offices (Berman, 2012). At the same time, the practice of knowledge transfer SSH, which had existed long before the demand of accounting for societal impact was extended to these disciplinary fields, had to be articulated in new terms (Benneworth, 2015; Cassity & Ang, 2006; Olmos Peñuela, 2013).

Institutional orders, logics, and their cognitive translation cannot be examined directly, but they can be known by their effects – identities and activity scripts (Jepperson, 1991; March & Olsen, 1989). Self-proclaimed values and motivations, accounts of personal experiences, and statements about the meanings of actions and behaviors make them visible. The theoretical model of the micro foundations of institutional logics proposed by Thornton et al. (2012, *Figure 1*) illustrates this relationship and further elaborates on factors, mechanisms, and processes mediating between the individual, organizational, field and societal levels.

In the model, individual agency is a) embedded in institutional structures; b) situated in immediate social environments; and c) boundedly intentional, in the sense that intentionality is restrained by social identity, interests, and rational limits, such as the focus of attention and sets of heuristics. Out of a wide array of available institutional logics, some subsets are usually more accessible than the others and center the attention of actors on taken-for-granted meanings and practices, as well as on specific problems and their likely solutions. However, when these logics cannot be applied because the actual context features new salient aspects, individuals may opt to activate alternative logics with the corresponding identities, goals, and cognitive and behavioral schemas.

Together, the activated logics are translated through communication, decision- and sensemaking that come amid social interaction and are realized in organizational structures, institutional work, and so on. The outcomes of this process are selected in the course of cultural evolution and, in turn, configure institutional orders and logics. It is worth emphasizing that

individual actors may directly employ the logics of the institutional orders, bypassing the organizational level (Thornton et al., 2012). This observation could be of relevance to the present case, since the university in question has not been playing a very significant part in the institutionalization of societal engagement so far, with legitimacy and pressures for it largely conferred by the institutional environment rather than by the organization.

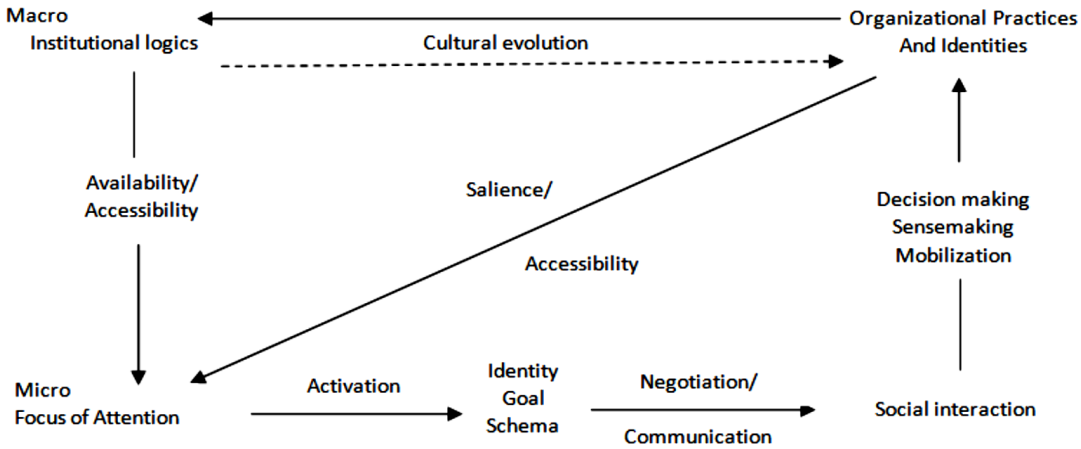

Figure 1. A cross-level model of institutional logics. Reprinted from Thornton et al., 2012, p. 85.

The same components and processes are at play on the inter-organizational level, according to the model of the cultural emergence of field-level institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012; *Figure 2*).

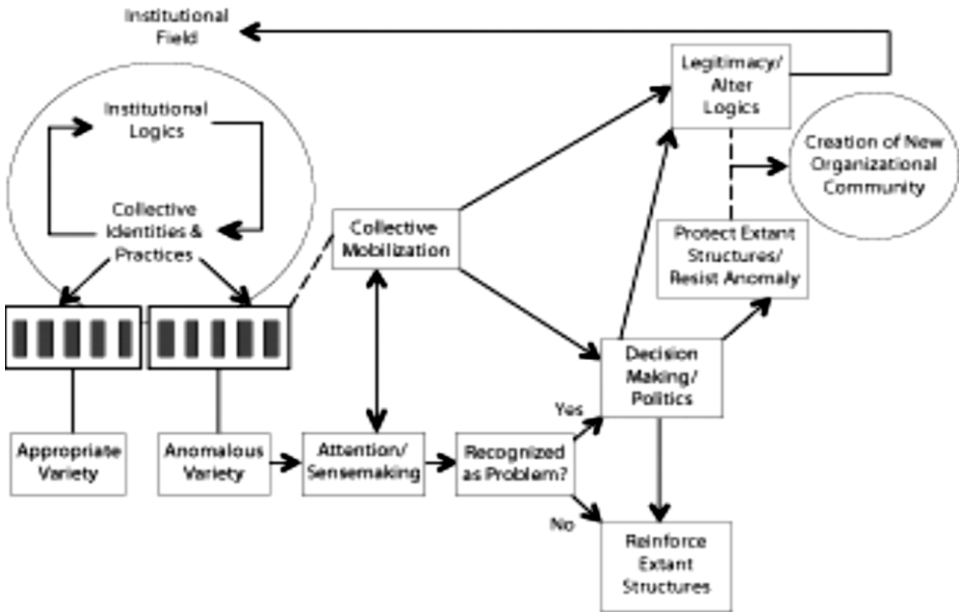

Figure 2. Cultural emergence of field-level institutional logics. Reprinted from Thornton et al., 2012, p. 151.

This model describes how contending societal-level and organizational logics mold institutional fields. It explains, for example, how the market logic could trigger sensemaking and change in public HEIs. This logic was anomalous to the field because it focused the attention of the faculty and administrators on meeting the needs of the economy and serving students as their customers (Winter & O'Donohue, 2012). When recognized as a problem, on

the one part, the market logic naturally encountered resistance and protective response of those actors who hold onto the view that higher education is an autonomous social institution (Townley, 1997). On the other part, it led to a transformation of both the legitimizing discourse of the academia (higher education is an industry and an economic engine) and its structures (expansion of managerial personnel, university mergers, reorganization of academic units and programs, etc.) (Berman, 2012; Gumport, 2000).

This study closely surveys individual perceptions; therefore, it takes advantage of two important elements of the afore-displayed models – *individual intentionality* revealed in identities and goals and the process of *sensemaking*. Correspondingly, the models developed by Thornton et al. (2012) are reduced to the following analytical framework that showcases the relationship between macro and micro levels, i.e., between institutional orders and human agents (*Figure 3*).

Figure 3. Macro to micro translation of institutional logics. Adapted from Thornton et al., 2012, pp. 85 & 151.

2.2.3 Individual intentionality and sensemaking from the institutional logics perspective

Like all individuals, academics have multiple *social identities* reflecting the complexity of the interinstitutional system (Cai & Zheng, 2016). These identities may be associated with *group* membership, for example, with gender, ethnicity, profession or organization, or with specific *roles*, such as leader, volunteer, citizen, and so on; and they may overlap. Thus, academics are, as a rule, professionals working in certain disciplines and members of a particular higher education institution (group identities); but also teachers, researchers, administrators, project managers, etc. (presently understood as role identities connected to their tasks, although in practice these labels may designate both roles and groups, e.g., in networks). The significance of each identity and the degree of normative, cognitive, and affective commitment to them may vary from individual to individual, and from one situational context to another. Whatever the specific academic identities may be (see, e.g., four types posited in Lam, 2010 and Leišytė, 2015), they are aligned with macro logics, such as the logics of professional and communal autonomy, disciplinary logic, managerial and commercial logics, and the rest (Cai & Zheng, 2016; Perkmann & Phillips, 2011; Townley, 1997; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012).

In addition to multiple identities, social actors have multiple immediate and future-oriented *goals* that may accord or discord among themselves and/or with identities. Like identities, goals are embedded in institutional logics. From the perspective of the market logic, for instance, it is reasonable to pursue goals driven by self-interest and individual benefits, whereas

the corporate logic would prioritize the interests of the corporation, the state logic – national interests, etc. Goals change with the change of the focus of attention and crystallize in structures and performance. Due to the pressures of accountability, individuals may adhere to some prevalent institutional order but act on alternative goals withal. If norms and regulations are in conflict with their dominant identity, they may choose to conform to them in order to avoid sanctions and reap rewards and benefits. Incidentally, this explains the use of incentives in performance management – they may induce desirable behaviors relatively quickly and without necessarily changing the fundamentals of the actors' identities and organizational cultures.

The availability and accessibility of institutional logics and of the related identities and goals that *give* sense to the individuals' social life are contingent on a) their prior knowledge and experience, and b) the salient contextual factors (Thornton et al., 2012). Institutions "set limits on the very nature of rationality and, by implication, of individuality…Rationality as well as the appropriate contexts of its use are learned" (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 251). The *ad hoc* situation activates the attention of the actors to the logics that they have encountered both within one institutional order and across various orders.

Dealing with these complementary and/or antagonistic logics, individuals may recombine them and adjust their identities and goals *to make* sense of the new situation or environment (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Lok, 2010). Thus, when a researcher engages into entrepreneurial activities outside the university and turns knowledge into products and revenues, s/he may assimilate some of the market logics into research practices, and vice versa, – for example, by viewing science as an enterprise and integrating publishing into a business strategy. In the process of social interaction and communication, the newly emerged identity of an academic entrepreneur may, in its turn, alter the organizational and social identities and the logics at the macro level, even if individual identification with the novel logics is superficial or problematic (Lok, 2010).

Logics are analytical categories that do not exist in reality unless they are embodied in practices. While this study does not deal with the practices of research, teaching, and societal engagement *per se*, it analyzes the academics' discourses that give a glimpse at how the logics are translated into practices, retrospectively or prospectively. *Sensemaking* is one of the basic mechanisms of such translation. According to Thornton et al. (2012), "institutional logics conjoin practices and symbols through language" (p. 149), hence the importance of sensemaking as a rationalizing process mediating between the logics and actions. When actors explicitly interpret their environments, circumstances, and behaviors, they make use of distinct sets of vocabularies provided by the logics and establish collective practices. *Vocabulary* here is an umbrella term for theories, frames, narratives, rhetorical strategies, and labeled categories or terms that give a rationale for social phenomena and events. Sensemaking can be best captured in individual narratives because they constitute a focal point between more general sensegiving constructs, on the one hand, and particular incidents and practices that call for interpretation, on the other.

Sensemaking, therefore, is both an indicator of habitual and shifting logics and a mechanism of their transformation. The term *societal engagement*, for example, stemming from the logics of the market and the state, can move from representing the university's interaction with external partners to being a property of academic work as a whole, and enter the domain of professional logic. One should keep in mind, however, that actors are capable of decoupling their articulated identities and stated goals from actions (Lok, 2010); consequently,

sensemaking accounts should not be uncritically taken as demonstrations of actual practices. Nor should their ideation and reflection be perceived as atemporal (Zilber, 2013).

2.3 Institutional Logics in Higher Education Field

2.3.1 Interinstitutional system logics in higher education field

Townley (2008) observes that, "While institutional logics are very general rationales that inform behavior in particular spheres, their level of purchase at more disaggregate levels may be more limited" (p. 108). Variations in the market logic and business practices may occur, for example, due to financial and labor regulations on the national level, or due to a local community culture, and so on and so forth. To wit, the market logic in the context of higher education is a field-specific instantiation of societal-level logic, just as the academic logic is a derivative and adaptation of profession logic dependent on concrete historical, cultural, and artefactual variations. For this reason, it is necessary to redefine the categories of the institutional orders (*Table 1*) in keeping with the character of the institutional field for the case in question (*Table 2*). This operation rests on several precedents, including but not limited to Cai and Zheng (2016), Perkmann and Phillips (2011), and Townley (1997).

On the field level, *state* logics rationalize higher education as a social institute, part of the state's redistribution mechanism, with academics employed in HEIs as civil servants, and with the logic of democratic participation in decision-making translated into academic collegiality and autonomy. *Market* logics contest the logics of the welfare state by viewing academia as an enterprise and promoting economic efficiency, accountability, and commercialization of academic activities. *Corporation* logics transform universities into hierarchical organizations concerned with their position in the higher education market (first of all, in various rankings) and maximize the authority of managers that link academic work to productivity indicators and measures. *Community* logics are basically the same as on the societal level, only surface in groups associated with higher education – disciplinary communities, project teams, research cooperatives, etc. At last, the logics of the academic *profession* are sustained by a monopoly of peers over the content and quality of research and teaching, with ethical and performance standards set by celebrity academics, and with the logics of personal academic reputation and expertise driving academic behavior.

A word of caution needs to be written here. Firstly, the logics presented in *Table 2* are quite general and not exhaustive; therefore, they can be amplified and complemented. Economically, for example, the market and the liberal academia differ in their approaches to funding and intellectual property rights. Whilst the former logic is associated with private/for-profit funding and pressures for patenting and productizing, the latter endorses public/non-profit funding and open circulation of information and ideas (Perkmann & Phillips, 2011). They also differ in their treatment of students. For the academia, the goal is to educate citizens who are capable of critical thinking. From the market point of view, students are customers and potential employees (Townley, 1997). This contradistinction is, as a matter of fact, less acute for polytechnics and universities of applied sciences. These and other logics could be added to *Table 2*.

Secondly, the logics can refer to organizations and individuals alike, as in the "status in higher education market", which encompasses both universities in the glocal marketplace and academics in the labor market. Thirdly, actors can also deal with multi-level logics within one order. A case in point could be a higher education system that operates as an extension of the

state, enabling the academics to activate both societal and field-specific state logics at once (Cai & Zheng, 2016). Finally, even on the field level the logics are but ideal types, and it can be disputed, how accurately they represent the realities of individual academics and particular universities in each case.

Table 2

Interinstitutional system logics in the higher education field

Orders / *Categories*	**State**	**Market**	**Corporation**	**Community**	**Profession**
Root Metaphor	HE as social institute & redistribution mechanism	Transaction Academia as business	HEI as corporate hierarchy	Common boundary (discipline, project, cooperative, location, network, etc.)	Academic profession as relational network
Sources of Legitimacy	Democratic participation Collegiality & autonomy	Funding & revenues Successful innovation	Market position of HEI University rankings	Unity of will Belief in trust & reciprocity	Personal academic expertise Academic objectivity & freedom
Sources of Authority	Bureaucratic domination	Accountability to sponsors & customers (state, business, industry, alumni & students, etc.)	HEI's Board & top management	Commitment to community values & ideology	Professional association & peers
Sources of Identity	Social & economic class	Branding	Bureaucratic roles associated with productivity	Emotional connection Ego-satisfaction & reputation	Personal reputation associated with quality of academic work
Basis of Norms	Citizenship in nation Academics as civil servants	Self-interest	Employment in HEI	Group membership	Membership in academic guild & association
Basis of Attention	Status of interest group	Status in higher education market	Status in HEI's corporate hierarchy	Personal investment in group	Status in academic profession
Basis of Strategy	Increase community good	Increase efficiency profit	Increase size & diversification of HEI	Increase status & honor of members & practices	Increase personal academic reputation
Informal Control Mechanisms	Backroom politics	Higher education analysts	HEI's organizational culture	Visibility of actions	Celebrity academics
Economic System	Welfare capitalism Membership-based	Market capitalism Performance-based	Managerial capitalism Performance-based	Cooperative capitalism Membership-based	Personal capitalism Membership-based

Note. Adapted from Cai & Zheng, 2016, p. 252; Canhilal et al., 2015, p. 177; Thornton et al., 2012, p. 73; Perkmann & Phillips, 2011; and Townley, 1997.

The following example may illustrate the interpretative mechanism based the orders and categories outlined in *Table 2*. Against the given background, a scholar's motivation to engage with the society in order to benefit the community can, for instance, be regarded as a manifestation of the state logics of increasing the common good, linked to the person's national and/or regional identity as a citizen. Importantly, one and the same phenomenon can be explained by different logics depending on the situation. Thus, in the given case, the scholar can also experience an emotional connection with the reference group and enjoy personal and professional benefits resulting from his/her societal engagement. As another example, to understand someone's intention to raise money for research projects, it is possible to recourse to the market logics of self-interest and profit-making; or to the corporate logics, if the money goes to the university and research fundraising is part of the employment contract and performance evaluation; or to the professional logics when the funds serve to enhance personal expertise and satisfy professional ambition. Moreover, these logics are not necessarily interchangeable; they can complement each other and be activated coincidently – a scholar can pursue both academic interests and community goals, or earn money for both the university and oneself.

2.3.2 Academics' role identities from the institutional logics perspective

Under all circumstances, it is not simply academics *qua* academics who respond to the institutional complexity. Owing to the ongoing diversification of the academic profession, the changing conditions and division of academic work (*Chapter 4.1.3* below; Enders & Musselin, 2008; Nixon, Marks, Rowland, & Walker, 2001), and to the very reconceptualization of profession as such (Williams, 2008), it is academics in their capacity as researchers, teachers, academic administrators, and engaged scholars (the label derives from Boyer, 1996) who try to make sense of the intricacies, uncertainties, and risks of living in modern societies and working in modern universities (Lamont & Nordberg, 2014).

Table 3

Institutional logics associated with academics' role identities: The framework

Role identities / *Orders*	**Researcher**	**Teacher**	**Engaged scholar**
State			
Market			
Corporation			
Community			
Profession			

Note. Adapted from Thornton et al., 2012.

In line with the research questions and the profile of the participants (see below, *Chapter 3.3*), this study scrutinizes the interplay of three basic role identities – researcher, teacher, and engaged scholar, – utilizing the institutional logic perspective as a heuristic lens through which their dynamics could be better comprehended. *Table 3* above displays the framework for analyzing logics distribution across the three roles and five institutional orders, specially

constructed for this study. The framework will later be tested against the collected data (*Chapter 5.3.3*).

Researcher identity here is associated with commitment to research and a passion for it, as well as with a strong intrinsic motivation to do research. *Teacher* identity is manifest in a zeal for teaching and self-realization through teaching, and with a confidence of being a competent and knowledgeable educator (cf. Vähäsantanen, Ursin, & Hökkä, 2015). *Engaged scholar* is passionate about societal engagement, has a strong intrinsic motivation to engage, and derives ego-satisfaction from it. Needless to say, these are ideal types, and, in practice, academics can have multiple identities in varying degrees of importance or create hybrid types by combining their logics.

2.3.3 Academics' responses to institutional complexity

The overlap of institutional orders and the multiplicity of competing logics generate *institutional complexity* which can be met with different responses. One possibility for actors is to protect one order from the import of extraneous symbols and practices (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Another option is to compartmentalize the logics (Canhilal et al., 2015), either defensively or in strategic way, that is, "to loosely couple or decouple who they are from how they act" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 58; cf. ceremonial conformity/formal compliance in Townley, 2008). The case of *institutional arbitrage*, whereby actors reap benefits from the logics of some exogenous institutional field without compromising or contaminating their own field with external logics (Perkmann et al., 2011; Perkmann & Phillips, 2011) also falls under this category.

Alternatively, actors can arrive at a hybridization of logics (Skelcher & Smith, 2015; Smets & Jarzabkowski, 2013), wholly embrace opponent logics, or create new logics. Thornton et al. (2012) proffer an instrumental typology of change in field-level logics that discerns transformational alterations from developmental, as well as from shifts in the logics' scope (p. 164). Remarkably, their classification can also be applied to changes on the micro level. It does not account, however, for the responses that maintain the status quo in the institutional field or lead to the creation of brand new logics. As a consequence, it ought to be combined with the insights from the literature cited in this paragraph. The resulting typology is used as a framework for analyzing individual responses in the case under investigation (*Table 4* below).

On reading through the typology below, it can certainly be argued that innovation is a subtype of change, or that it would be challenging to draw a clear line between assimilation and blending which both involve a hybridization of logics in varying degrees. Apparently, there exist no universal criteria for making these choices yet. Here, the invention of new logics constitutes a separate form of response in order to emphasize its disruptive nature and potential to create new institutional orders on the macro level. As for assimilation, it is detected in those cases when one set of logics is subordinated to another, even to the erosion of their initial sense; while blending indicates a merging of diverse logics that brings about a novel synergistic combination.

For instance, when the market logic of proprietary rights is assimilated to that of the academic profession, patenting and licensing are subordinated to the goals of research fundraising and academic prestige rather than to the monetization of knowledge (Murray, 2010). In the context of social sciences, specifically, proprietary rights may become synonymous with the traditional logic of authorship and subordinated to the goals of open access to research results (copyright

protection used to prevent a commercial restriction of access), or to some other professional norms (prevention of unethical use or any infringement of the interests of the academic worker). By contrast, when these logics are blended, the logic of proprietary rights retains its commercial sense and gives rise to new practices and structural opportunities, such as academic entrepreneurship or liaison and knowledge transfer offices that operate on the fringes of the two institutional orders (Berman, 2012).

Table 4

Typology of micro-level responses to competing institutional logics

Forms of response	Definition
Maintenance	
Protection	Rejection of external logics
Segmentation	Compartmentalization of diverse logics, exogenous reinforcement of prevalent logics
Change	
Transformational change	
Replacement	One logic replaces another
Blending	Combining dimensions of diverse logics
Segregation	Separation of logics from a common origin
Developmental change	
Assimilation	Incorporation of external dimensions into prevalent endogenous logics
Elaboration	Endogenous reinforcement of prevalent logics
Change in scope	
Expansion	Shift from one field to another
Contraction	Decrease in logics' scope
Creation	
Innovation	Invention of new logics

Note. Adapted from Thornton et al., 2012, p. 164 and Skelcher & Smith, 2015, p. 440.

2.3.4 Academics' sensemaking of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective

Figure 4 presents the main analytical framework for the present research. It synthesizes the above-discussed elements of the process of sensemaking, translates into data analysis, and makes it possible to answer the research questions of the study. This framework posits that variations in academics' perceptions can be explained by contesting logics pertaining to various institutional orders on multiple levels, though primarily in the field of higher education.

Drawing on their previous experience and current environment, academics are able to conserve, reconfigure, or devise new logics when making sense of the new roles they encounter (third mission activities) and/or of the new facets of traditional roles (research and teaching). The logics that focus the academics' attention and their sensemaking of societal engagement are revealed in the academics' discursive expressions of identity and goalsetting, as well as in narratives about their practices.

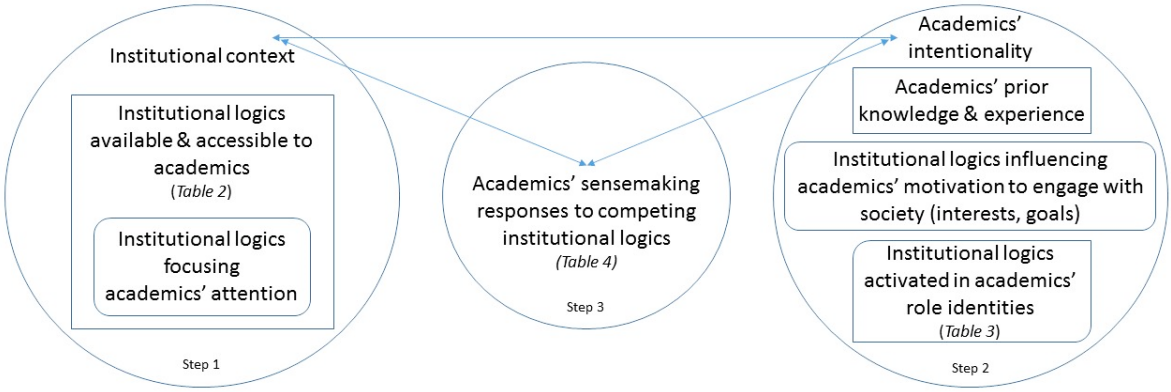

Figure 4. Academics' sensemaking of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective.

The framework suggests three analytical steps to be taken on the way to answering the main research question – "*How do academics in social sciences make sense of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective*?". *Step one* implies an examination of the immediate institutional context of the case that makes different logics available to academics (*Table 2*), which stipulates an inquiry into the availability of logic sets and an investigation of those logics that focus the attention of the academics on the most salient properties of their environment, and are accessed by them most of the time.

Step two is an exploration of academics' intentionality as influenced by their prior knowledge and experience, which includes experience of societal engagement and of the impact that it has on their research and teaching. This step further necessitates analysis of academics' motivation to engage with the society and their role identities (researcher, teacher, engaged scholar; *Table 3*) as similarly conditioned by institutional logics.

Step three is a study of academics' sensemaking of societal engagement as a process of responding to competing logics from their environment and balancing these logics against the logics of their identities, goals, and interests. It is performed with the aid of the typology in *Table 4* and on the basis of academics' definitions of societal engagement and narratives about their experiences.

The framework indicates that both institutional context and intentionality are governed by institutional orders. Institutional context may trigger changes in individual motivation, and vice versa, a change in identities may lead to a change in the environment. Sensemaking mediates this process both prospectively, when it transforms identities and logics that materialize in innovative actions and structures (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 96), and retrospectively, when it facilitates rationalization of the institutional context in conjunction with individual intentionality. This thesis considers exclusively the retrospective side of sensemaking, which, at this point, requires a discussion of data collection and analysis.

3. Methodology

The chapter first presents the overall methodological design of the study and justifies its appropriateness for addressing the research problem. Thereupon, it specifies the methods and strategies utilized in obtaining and analyzing the data. It also provides information on research participants in the form of a demographic overview of the sample which highlights some essential characteristics, such as disciplinary affiliation or length of the academic career, while taking precautions against revealing the identity of the interviewees. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the validity and reliability of the research process and its results, as well as on the limitations of this study.

3.1 Research Design

This inquiry is guided by an assumption that university academics' perceptions of their societal engagement attest to multiple institutional logics. Thus, it relies on sociological institutionalism for the explanation of individual sensemaking and adopts *deductive* and *theory-testing* reasoning in this respect. At the same time, the institutional logics approach views social reality as being actively constructed by the individuals and, as such, holds open the possibility of *inductive* analysis and *empirical generalizations*. As a result, both types of reasoning are featured in the current study.

A *qualitative* research strategy was initially chosen for the investigation on account of the following deliberations (Creswell, 2003; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2011): 1) it looks into the meanings ascribed by people to reality in a natural setting under uncontrolled conditions and is, therefore, well suited for constructivist paradigms; 2) it effectively captures participants' views, ideas, values, beliefs, and perspectives; 3) it gives consideration to multiple contextual issues, such as the institutional and organizational environment; 4) it seeks to explain human phenomena by adhering to already existing and/or yet emerging concepts and is capable of providing new insights into them; 5) it strives to deal with complexity and diversity through integrating various sources of evidence, such as interviews and documents; 6) it is associated with the kind of flexibility in data collection and interpretation that incorporates a learning curve and facilitates adjustments of research in progress, along with arriving at thick descriptions of social reality in the end; and 7) it allows the researcher to serve as the main instrument for gathering data, develop a tool that is best attuned to research on a particular topic rather than employ external predesigned instruments, and make inferences on the basis of in-depth, relatively unrestricted interviews.

Furthermore, the choice of qualitative over quantitative techniques was stipulated by imbalance and inconsistencies in the scant literature on the issue (Bryman, 2012) which often favors quantitative methods, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, provides no definitive answers regarding the impact of third mission activities on university research and teaching. Concordantly, this study pertains to the *descriptive* and *exploratory* types that "build rich descriptions of complex circumstances that are unexplored in the literature" (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 33). Finally, the research design was inevitably influenced by certain practical considerations (Bryman, 2012), such as accessibility of participants, mobility and time constraints on the researcher, as well as other feasibility concerns.

The present exploration makes avail of the *case study* as its principal strategy of inquiry; however, it also carries an element of the *cross-sectional* design (see below), just as it exhibits signs of both deductive and inductive reasoning. Creswell (2003), Merriam (1998) and Yin

(2009) recommend the use of case study methodology when real-life phenomena and human experiences, in all their complexity and particularity, are somehow bounded – by time, location, activity, etc. What is more, the understanding of the case(s) in question (e.g., events, people, programs, or processes) is based on detailed information collected via a range of procedures and involves an intensive examination of contextual conditions and the setting itself. Some scholars, in addition, emphasize the utility of case study design in an educational milieu (Bassey, 1999; Merriam, 1998).

All these attributes are apparent in the conducted research: it focuses on sensemaking activity that is interrelated with complex individual identities, attitudes and goals; fieldwork is limited to a single university, elucidating its specific features and interweaving their description with generated interpretations; data are derived from different sources; and the study is undertaken at one point in time, which, incidentally, characterizes it as cross-sectional in contrast to longitudinal studies. According to Bryman (2012), it can also be designated as cross-sectional in terms of 1) paying attention to the *factors* (institutional logics) that influence the perceptions of academic work, and 2) placing the *sample* in the focus of interest, while the university serves mainly as a background to the inferences that are 3) presumed to be *applicable* in other cases, *outside* the given boundaries.

Typologically, this is an *embedded single-case* study (Yin, 2009). Namely, the University of Tampere and its divisions running academic and/or research programs in social sciences are taken as a single case representative of a public research-oriented university and ordinary academic work in the aforesaid disciplinary area; with that, individual academics are treated as independent subunits of analysis embedded in this case. In light of another classification (Stake, 2005), the study should be regarded as *instrumental* because it examines the case not for its own sake but in an effort to facilitate the understanding of the research problem and support the institutional logics perspective (cf. with *interpretive* or *analytical* case studies in Merriam, 1998). Notably, arguing from a fairly positivist standpoint, Yin (2009) insists that developing a theory, matching data against a previously developed theory, or at least having either theoretical propositions or a conceptual framework from the outset of the research process is essential even in exploratory case studies. The exploration advanced here meets this criterion inasmuch as it uses the institutional logics perspective as a template for assessing the empirical results. Lastly, although the research is not designed as *evaluative* in the strict sense, – that is, it is set to illuminate the issue rather than make judgements, – information and practical implications considered in this paper may ultimately be used for evaluation and for the inducement of change (Bassey, 1999).

3.2 Data Collection

Case study design does not presuppose any determinate method of generating data. Nevertheless, it is always desirable to converge multiple sources of evidence in order to cover a wider range of issues, make more accurate observations, and substantiate findings (Creswell, 2003; Yin, 2009 & 2011). In the case at hand, data triangulation was achieved by collecting research materials from both *primary* and *secondary* sources. The former included interviews, communications via email, and documents like policy papers, university strategies, administrative files, reports, information on websites and in the media; the latter refer to scholarly literature. Non-interview data were to a considerable degree nested in the evidence obtained from the interviews so as to provide insights into the different levels of analysis (Creswell, 2003) – to wit, individual academics, the organization, and the Finnish society at large. Thus, for instance, participants' statements regarding the value of societal engagement

amongst university management were corroborated by the absence of respective indicators from formal hiring policies.

Data were collected in February-May 2016. Since the main research questions were built around academics' perceptions, the author decided to carry out *semi-structured open-ended interviews*. These are considered a sound practice "whenever you need to learn about something in depth from another person's point of view" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. vii), and the inquiry is guided by a series of issues emanating from the literature rather than by an inventory of strictly bounded variables, thereby allowing to keep more of an emergent design (Bryman, 2012).

At first, two pilot, face-to-face and relatively unstructured interviews were conducted with the objective of assessing the representativeness of the case, exploring the field and, possibly, first-hand ideas rising from it, and refining the tentative interview guide. On account of the proximity of procedures and sample characteristics, the data from these interviews were included in the final analysis upon obtaining the informants' written consent by email. Subsequently, nine more academics were interviewed: seven face-to-face, one via a Skype call, and one via email, yielding a total of 11 interviews. At that point, information appeared exhaustive, preliminary codes generated in the process of data collection became redundant, and data saturation was achieved. Ten conversations were audio recorded with the help of a mobile application and transcribed *verbatim* by the researcher. Voice interviews lasted, on average, an hour 10 minutes. Besides that, one textual exchange of questions and answers was extracted from electronic correspondence. Together, they make up a corpus of 128 pages (APA style margins, 6th ed., single spacing).

Whilst the selection of the case, its context, and documentary sources was performed on the basis of *convenience* and *purposive sampling* approaches, participants were identified exclusively through purposive sampling using a combination of *generic* and *snowball* techniques (Bryman, 2012). On the one hand, the University of Tampere and the academic units that specialize in social sciences were directly accessible to the researcher by virtue of being a member of the organization (a Master's student) – a well-warranted situation that can be frequently observed, for example, in the field of organizational studies. Yet, on the other hand, the case was found to be relevant to the posed research questions and satisfying the *a priori* criteria: it exemplifies a quintessential public university that acknowledges the importance of integrating the various dimensions of academic work and is engaged in full-fledged research, teaching, and third mission activities in social sciences. Thus, the case was not selected simply on the grounds of convenience, but also for strategic reasons. Documentary sources used in the study were likewise chosen for being both available in the English language and information-rich, enhancing the understanding of the case.

The process of sampling the participants commenced with identifying *the target population* within the case university. Several characteristics were deemed indispensable for the informants to best aid in answering the research questions: 1) working in the field of social sciences; 2) doing either research or teaching, or both; and 3) having experience of societal engagement. Moreover, since the interviews ought to be conducted in English, the ability and willingness to collaborate in this language was a natural prerequisite, too. No strict definition of either societal engagement or research and teaching preceded the data collection process, and, in fact, discovering the participants' own notions of these facets of academic work was part of the research agenda. Conversely, the category of social sciences was conceived on the basis of its key features summarized in *The Impact of the Social Sciences* by Bastow et al.

(2014). According to the authors, the corresponding disciplines share a "focus on the study of contemporary human societies, economies, organizations and cultures, and their development" (Bastow et al., 2014, p. 4). Besides, they entail formal theory and model development, rigorous data collection and thorough empirical investigation; and, generally, look up to the standards of natural sciences, *inter alia*, by making good use of quantitative data and analysis.

Following the demarcation suggested in *Figure 5*, it was decided to recruit among the professionals from the core disciplinary group (upper right corner) in the first place, so that to lessen the risk of potential admixture of logics and sensemaking associated with other disciplinary areas in research results. Secondly, among all the academic divisions of the university, two schools were sampled upon studying the *Final Report* of the *Research Assessment Exercise at the University of Tampere 2014* (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015). On the one part, these schools stood out because of the variability in their social sciences profiles (Economics, Political Science, Public Administration, Social Policy, and other core disciplines), offering a selection of *soft-pure* and *soft-applied* disciplines (Becher, 1994); and, on the other part, they earned a variety of positive scores for the societal impact of their research, ranging between "good" (3) and "excellent" (5). In line with that, invitation to participate in the study was sent via email to all academics working in the School of Management and to faculty members from the relevant subunits in the School of Social Sciences and Humanities. The entry to the field was partially supported by personal relations, with pilot interviews resulting from individual requests for an appointment.

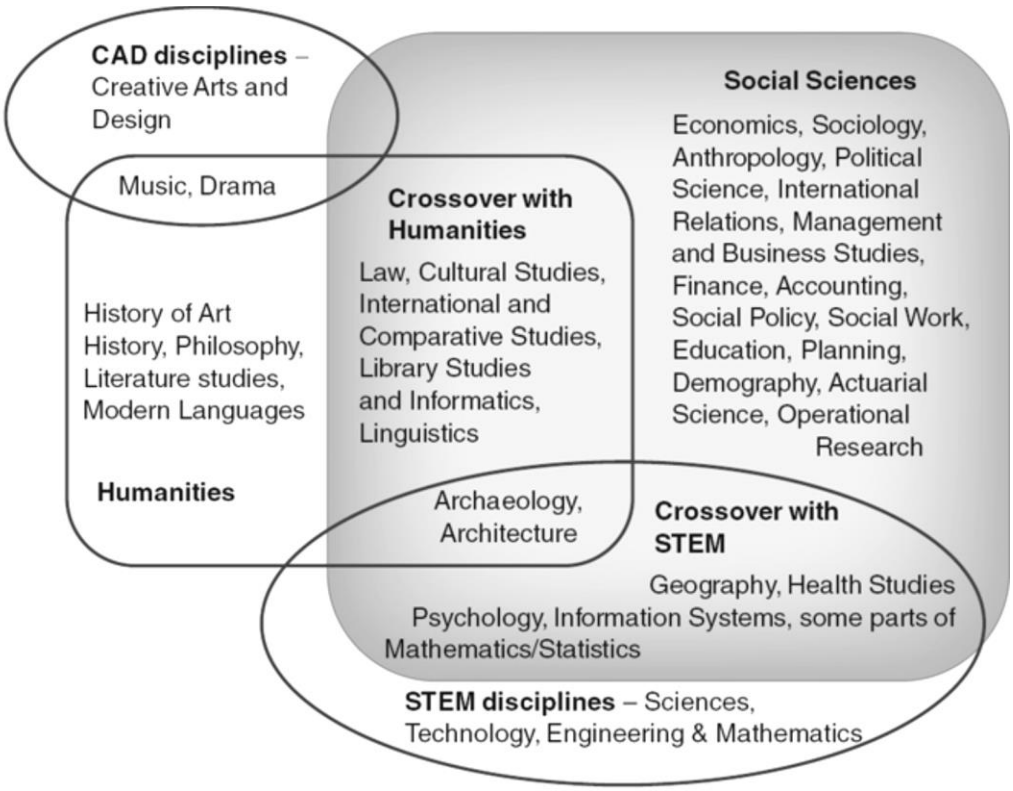

Figure 5. The social sciences and how they relate to other disciplines. Reprinted from Bastow et al., 2014, p. 3.

Thirdly, seeing that few scholars (n = 2) volunteered to collaborate in the study in response to the targeted mailout, snowball technique was invoked. That is, participants were kindly asked

to propose other colleagues whose knowledge and competences could be of value to the investigation. Consequently, saturation was achieved in conjunction with both greater homogeneity and greater multidisciplinarity within the sample, as commended individuals could work in the same unit and/or have a more complex disciplinary background than it was originally envisioned (for more information on the latter, see *Figure 8* in *Chapter 3.3*). In sum, although the sampling strategy was fixed early on, the *a priori* criteria became contingent upon the progression of events and evolved slightly during the collection phase. For instance, the idea to carry out interviews with the representatives of the humanities and draw a comparison between them and social scientists was dropped for pragmatic reasons when recruiting informants from the former disciplinary field proved challenging.

The interview guide (*Appendix*) was dealt with in a similarly flexible fashion. Designed in close consultation with the literature and revised after the pilot interviews, it was eventually assembled in two pieces. The chief protocol (*Part A, Appendix*) comprised 33 mostly open-ended questions; even if a yes/no answer could be given to some, explanation was encouraged, as a rule. Their number and level of detail stemmed from the need to explore more than one dimension of academic work and from an attempt to triangulate questions and approach the same issue on many sides. The tool accounted for the participants' background, their understanding of the meaning and value of societal engagement, its perceived influence on their research and teaching, and the institutional context; hence, the items were organized in five groups. This protocol was consulted at times *ad litteram*, and at other times loosely, merely as a reference frame, depending on the relevance of an interviewee's experience and responses. Thus, for example, if a participant only had experience in research and engagement, the questions about teaching were omitted; or, if the conversation took an interesting turn beyond the scope of the guide, the matter could be pursued at the expense of existing questions. The supplementary part (*Part B, Appendix*) resembled a checklist and was used unsystematically due to time limits during the interview and a low rate of return via email (18%, $n = 2$). In the end, it served merely as a trigger for participants' reflections in case they found it hard to reverse the connection between research, teaching, and societal engagement or think of specific examples, and not as a data collection tool.

The interviewees partook in the study knowingly, voluntarily, and anonymously. During the data collection process, identifier codes from A to K were used instead of real names, and *implied consent* (Berg, 2001) was preferred over signing informed consent forms to avoid keeping any record of their true identities. The nature and purpose of this research, procedural terms, and confidentiality compliance were communicated in a letter of invitation and in the field during the interviews (Yin, 2011). The participants had all opportunities to query about the substance of the case and files management; for instance, some were interested in the theoretical framework, and some explicitly urged that the researcher alone had access to audio recordings. In short, affirmative replies to the invitation and completed interviews were regarded as implying consent (Berg, 2001).

Along with collecting raw data, field notes were taken in handwriting, and a Microsoft Office OneNote journal was kept as part of the case study database. These contained both descriptive (facts, observations, etc.) and reflective (questions, ideas, etc.) information, thereby sustaining the chain of evidence. The collected data and the accompanying files in soft and/or hard copy, including back-up files, will be securely retained for a period of two years following the publication of the thesis, after which they will be deleted.

3.3 Participants' profile

The snowball sampling technique yielded a predominantly male (73%) set of study participants (*Figure 6a*). Most participants spent in between 11 and 20 (n = 5) and 21 and 30 (n = 3) years in academic career. Along with them, one early-stage researcher and two academics with more than 30 years of university career agreed to be interviewed for this research (*Figure 6b*).

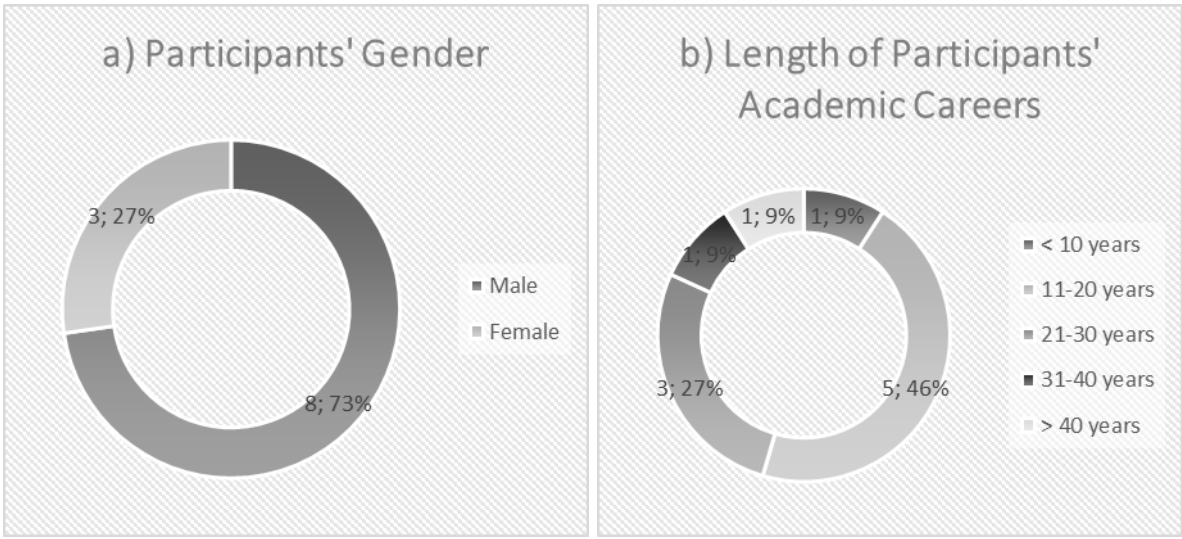

Figure 6. Participants' a) gender and b) length of academic career.

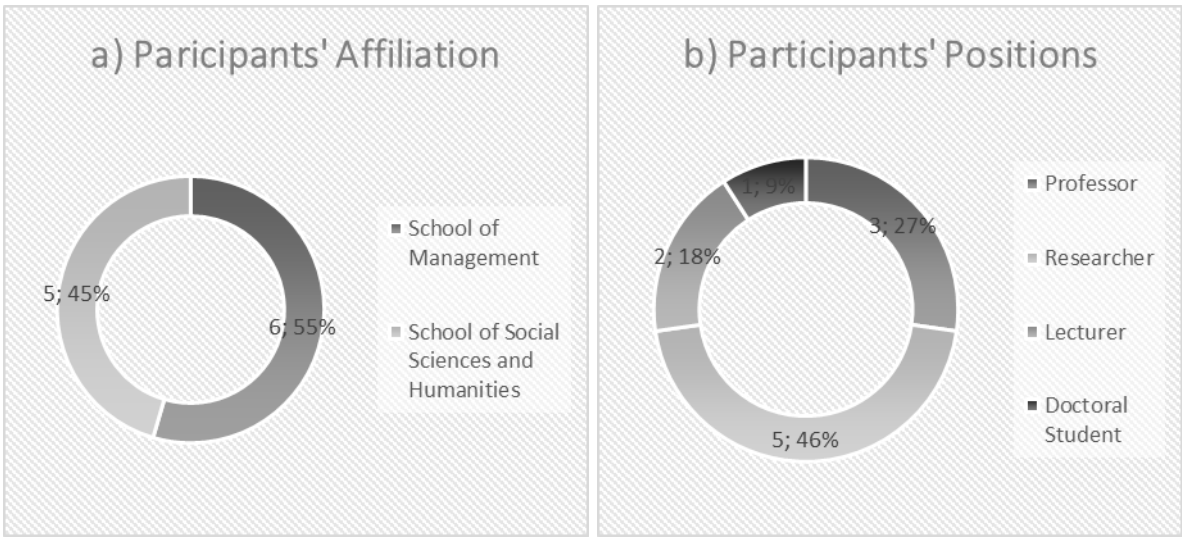

Figure 7. Participants' a) affiliation with academic units and b) positions at the time of the study.

The sample was nearly evenly distributed across the two schools selected for data collection – the School of Management and the School of Social Sciences and Humanities (*Figure 7a*). One participant was formally affiliated with another unit that cannot be disclosed, but academically connected with the latter school, thus making the ratio almost 50:50. The spectrum of appointments within the units was very broad, from a PhD student to full professors (*Figure 7b*). The category "Researcher" in the graph (*Figure 7b*) stands for all research posts, including but not limited to Postdoctoral Researcher, Senior Researcher, and

so on. Furthermore, six interviewees (55%) simultaneously held some academic leadership positions.

In terms of the typical dimensions of academic work, all informants had research, teaching, and societal engagement experience. Nevertheless, five participants (45%) reported doing very little teaching as contrasted to research and engagement activities. Eight interviewees (73%) were exposed to societal engagement already during their doctoral studies, and five people (45%) said they had experience of employment outside the academia, in the private sector, that was deserving of mention.

Figure 7. Participants' disciplinary profile.

Participants' engagement with various fields of study reflected the postmodern "meltdown of disciplinary boundaries" (Menand, 1996, p. 18) that has been registered in social sciences

(UNESCO, 2010). In the vast majority of cases, their educational backgrounds and present areas of expertise were quite multi- and interdisciplinary, although they all belonged to social sciences proper (*Figure 8*). *Figure 8* illustrates the relationships between larger branches of science and specific knowledge domains and shows that it was not uncommon for the same person to be working in several sectors at once.

No significant correlation could be observed between the participants' gender, positions, length of career, and disciplinary fields and the extent of their societal engagement or their role identities. Duration of contract (tenure type or short-term) likewise seemed to be of no consequence. Employment in the business and corporate sector, somewhat unexpectedly, also did not correlate with the preferences of the academics: some tended to emphasize research goals, whereas others were strongly inclined toward engagement; some compartmentalized their work at the university and in business, while others capitalized on their private sector jobs for academic purposes, and vice versa. Exposure to third mission activities at the initial stage of research career was an important, but not an indispensable factor in shaping the scholar's attitude to societal engagement; those who denied such involvement were, with one exception, neither less active nor less favorably disposed towards it.

Of particular note is the fact that even though some participants were aware of the institutional logics perspective, none had been dealing with it in practice; one academic alluded to "institutional logics" three times, but was not sure how to apply the concept, and another interviewee used the term "logics" without any reference to this theory.

3.4 Data Analysis

Data collection and analysis should be concurrent in qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). Accordingly, analysis in this study began at the stage of data collection and during the management of raw data, with observations made and notes taken while reading the documents, conducting and transcribing the interviews, and checking the transcripts to correct possible hearing mistakes.

Two strategies of qualitative data analysis were employed for documentary sources and interviews – discourse analysis and thematic analysis. *Discourse analysis* here refers to "an approach to qualitative research that considers language to represent the construction of social reality, especially within the social context of what is said, rather than assuming language only to represent what a person is thinking" (Yin, 2011, p. 308). In this sense, it accords well with the institutional logics perspective that is based on constructivism, takes into account the immediate environment and past experiences of social actors, and views the language as a mediator between cognitive categories and actions. Discourse analysis was utilized primarily for policy documents, but also for interpreting some of participants' narratives.

The *framework approach to thematic analysis* (Bryman, 2012) was chosen for managing the interview data. Transcripts were first coded manually over several rounds of reading by appending labels on the margins. Then participants *qua* subunits of the case, codes, and interview fragments were organized in a matrix spreadsheet created in Microsoft Excel 2016. After that, the codes were re-coded and reduced to fewer categories following a series of analytic revisions. The outcomes of reflection and categorization were synthesized into themes when writing up the case study (Saldaña, 2009).

Initial codes were partially pre-defined by the analytical framework based on the institutional logics perspective (*Chapter 2*), and partially emergent. Consequently, data analysis was built on a combination of *deductive* and *inductive* reasoning. Some categories were based on the ideal types, sensemaking mechanisms, and concepts suggested by the theory. Along with that, some categories resulted from a continuous comparison of participants' comments within and across subunits, which highlighted differences and similarities, repetitions and singularities, linguistic properties and logical connectors. Similarly, major themes stemmed from the theoretical perspective; and several sub-themes were derived from the data.

The presentation of the analysis in *Chapter 5* is structured as consistent with the research question and sub-questions (*Chapter 1.3*) and with the analytical framework for the study (*Chapter 2.3.4, Figure 4*). It opens with case description and examines the institutional context of the case by characterizing the organizational environment that influences academics' perceptions. This analysis is grounded in documentary sources and scholarly literature. Analysis of interview data first describes the array of institutional logics available and accessible to the academics in the institutional context, as well as those logics that focus the attention of the academics on the salient features of their environment (*Step 1*). Then it discusses individual intentionality from the institutional logics perspective as dependent on the academics' prior knowledge and experience and elicits the logics expressed in their motivation and role identities (*Step 2*). Next, it explores the academics' sensemaking responses to competing institutional logics (*Step 3*). In the end, it synthesizes the findings in an effort to answer the main research question.

3.5 Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability need to be given consideration because they are indicators of research quality. Doing so is, however, complicated by the fact that there is an ongoing scholarly debate about the meaning of validity and reliability in qualitative research. Some theorists take a positivist/realist stance on the question and try to emulate the quantitative standards as closely as possible; some adhere to alternative criteria and advocate terminology that emphasizes the difference, such as *trustworthiness*, *relevance*, and the like; and others find themselves somewhere in-between (Bryman, 2012). Since there exists no academic consensus on the issue, the present account follows Creswell (2003), Merriam (2009), and Silverman and Marvasti (2008) in using the traditional terms but qualifying their meaning.

Regardless of particular definitions, *reliability*, simply put, means that another researcher, having gone through the same procedures, will arrive at the same results and conclusions. Furthermore, the research is generally held to be *valid* if it accurately represents the examined phenomenon, and not only the findings, which can be partly verified by comparable results from the literature, but the whole investigation should be put under scrutiny from this perspective (Yin, 2011). For this purpose, an array of potential interpretations and strategies to increase validity and reliability was consulted and evaluated against the background of the research project at hand. Some of them were rejected for theoretical and/or pragmatic reasons. For example, the concept of *internal validity*, when understood as establishing a causal relationship between certain conditions (Yin, 2009), was discarded as irrelevant to an exploratory case study; yet it was given attention if elucidated as congruity between observations and theory, or between the researcher's inferences and the ideas of social actors, i.e., *credibility* (Bryman, 2012; Merriam, 2009). In relation to the latter, *respondent validation* was wittingly bypassed, due to both feasibility concerns and the criticism of this method, which is believed by some scholars to augment data rather than actually validate findings, and to

undermine the researcher's independence (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). Some validation tactics were, on the contrary, deliberately and purposefully appropriated, and are listed below.

Firstly, to ensure the correctness of methodological and operational procedures, every decision regarding the strategy, sampling, theory, and analysis was well-weighed in terms of its benefits, limitations, and consequences. *Pattern matching* in the form of *explanation building* in *exploratory* case studies (Yin, 2009) was employed. More precisely, hypothetical patterns and expectations generated on the basis of the analytical framework were compared to empirical results not for the sake of firmly determining causal links, as in explanatory studies, but with the goal of developing ideas for further research (Yin, 2009). Multiple sources and methods were used to build trustworthy and corroborative evidence, and, owing to the embedded single-case design, *cross-case synthesis* was performed on the level of its subunits.

Secondly, the issues of *external reliability* and *validity*, also known as *transferability* and *analytic generalizability* (Yin, 2009 & 2011), were addressed by carefully describing the study's context and arrangement, and by taking recourse to a broader theory. Therefore, it is possible for other researchers to assess if this study can be repeated in the same milieu at a later time or replicated in similar cases elsewhere (*reader* or *user generalizability*; Merriam, 1998). Or, if the assumptions and findings can be applied within the domain of the institutional logics perspective as a whole, for example, by being extrapolated to other professional groups (*moderatum* generalization; Bryman, 2012).

Thirdly, the risk of data mishandling and personal bias was diminished through consulting the supervisor and soliciting peer feedback at regular thesis seminars. Documenting each step and making research procedures transparent by maintaining the database of expert literature, protocols, collected materials, notes and coding principles, and checking interview transcripts for accuracy should have also contributed to the study's internal reliability, sometimes referred to as *dependability*, *confirmability*, or *consistency*.

Finally, the author was aware of the researcher's special role in constructing knowledge and was trying to keep a *self-reflective position* throughout the project. If it had not been for personal values and motivation, this study would not have even existed. Nonetheless, there were instances when, for example, the researcher's cultural and educational background impeded the decision on useful theory, or the bias towards societal engagement threatened an impartial treatment of prevalently research-oriented identities and goals. Such issues were overcome with the help of self-criticism, time gaps, and iterative analysis. The author also resorted to various evaluation guidelines and checklists adapted by Bryman (2012) and Silverman and Marvasti (2008) from different academic sources to prevent distortion and exercise good research practice.

3.6 Limitations

A standard limitation of a single case study is that it does not allow for generalizations. Its subject matter is highly time- and context-dependent, and the sample size is too small. Moreover, if university development progresses rapidly, the analysis quickly becomes outdated, if not irrelevant. However, common observations may be supposed to hold true for a larger number of similar cases, and recommendations resulting from them could be applied and adapted elsewhere. As Marshall and Rossman point out (2006), "although no qualitative studies are generalizable in the probabilistic sense, their findings may be transferable" (p. 42).

Other limitations are related to data collection. Firstly, even though key national and university documents were available online in the English translation, some documentary sources in the national language may have escaped the attention of the researcher. Secondly, the language of the interviews was English, which could have limited academics' responses. In addition, there is a typical risk of "social desirability bias", when personal or external considerations prompt interviewees to answer unnaturally or downplay challenges. Neutral wording of questions, confidentiality, triangulation of data sources and analytic approaches should have alleviated the effect of these limitations. Still, a synchronic interview study of perceptions could neither tell whether the analyzed hybrids of institutional logics were a temporary or a permanent feature of academic identities in transition, nor assess the degree of selectivity of self-reported data.

One final limitation is the researcher's bias. The choice of the institutional logics perspective for the exploration of the research problem helped to lessen the gaps in the knowledge base, but also limited the attention of the researcher, to the disadvantage of rival interpretations. Besides, a natural simplification and reduction of the analytical concepts took place during the operationalization of the theoretical perspective. Future research could overcome this limitation by refining the analytical tools used in this study and by making them more inclusive – for instance, by embracing more institutional orders or considering the relationship between institutional logics and "third space professionals" (Whitchurch, 2008).

4. Societal Engagement in Social Sciences

This chapter first discusses societal engagement in social sciences in the light of scholarly literature, and then analyzes policy steering of societal engagement in Finland, utilizing insights from the institutional logics perspective. More exactly, it begins by justifying the choice of the terminology used in the thesis and by outlining popular conceptualizations of societal engagement. Then it elucidates two dimensions of societal engagement – external relations and relevance – with respect to social sciences. Furthermore, it comments on the coevolution of the third mission and the academic profession, identity, and work. The chapter ends with a presentation of national policies on societal engagement as a source of diverging institutional logics in the Finnish academia.

4.1 Societal Engagement as the Third Pillar of Academic Work

"As tertiary institutions make a greater contribution to the public good and assume more central roles in today's knowledge economy, the third but most persistently amorphous pillar of academic work – denoted with myriad terms, most commonly as 'engagement' – will grow in significance… Academics can find this area of work confusing and hard to make tangible, let alone measure in their work" (Coates, 2017, p. 123). This succinct quote summarizes every challenge accompanying the attempts at integrating the third mission with the Humboldtian ideal of academic work: there is no theoretical consensus on the meaning and scope of societal engagement, and its increasing public import remains unmet by institutional action because more insight is needed into academics' practices and perceptions of this dimension before any action can be taken.

4.1.1 The concept of societal engagement

Justification of terminological choices

The terms used for designating and defining societal engagement in scholarly literature and in informal academic discourse include, but are not limited to third mission, third space activity, third stream activities, service, community service, community involvement, community engagement, public engagement, civic engagement, social engagement, societal/social interaction, social impact, social influence, social relevance, outreach, knowledge dissemination, knowledge transfer, knowledge transmission, knowledge translation, knowledge exchange, and the list goes on. Some have identical meanings, and some diverge in connotations; some overlap, and some seem to have more restricted domains of application.

The term *societal engagement* was selected for this research out of consideration for its participants. Firstly, the idea was to choose a notion that is as loose as possible, to avoid biasing responses with implied associations and rigid definitions. Since the task was to explore how participants define the third mission, the initial meaning had to be as neutral and broad as possible. Evidently, the word *engagement* is a common denominator in many of the terms above, and the word *societal* has a very wide-ranging scope. Given that many academics asked to explain in what sense the term was used in the interview guide, this goal was attained. Certainly, no definition was communicated to participants beforehand or in reply.

Secondly and importantly, in Finland, the word *mission* tends to be associated with management jargon (Välimaa & Hoffman, 2008), whereas words like service, interaction, and engagement are featured in discussions without prejudice. The term societal engagement also

commonly appears in English-language publications on policy issues (e.g., Ritsilä et al., 2008), assessment reports, and on university websites – the case university, for instance, has a research group working on *engagement* and change in academic communities. Thus, even though interpretations of the term vary, it is neither hostile nor alien to participants.

In the face of a "definitional anarchy", McIlrath (2014) conveniently summarizes the meanings conveyed by the term: "Engagement as a concept implies activity, interaction, sharing, a dynamic that is in constant change and flux. It implies relationships between the university and the targeted communities, be this at local, regional, national, international or even virtual levels, for reciprocal benefits using knowledge-sharing and dimensions of co-creation that impact society and community, which are the central crux" (pp. 39-40). Although the term *societal engagement* does not dominate the European scholarly discourse – there exist individual preferences and national variations (e.g., *public* engagement in the UK; McIlrath, 2014; Watermeyer, 2015), – it has gained a firm traction in Europe (Benneworth & Osborne, 2014).

Unless indicated otherwise, this thesis uses the notions of societal engagement, third mission, societal interaction, and service interchangeably, as umbrella terms for any interaction of scholars with external parties (vis-à-vis the university) as representatives of the academic profession; and social impact is theorized as a dimension of engagement, the other dimension being the reverse impact of the engagement on academic work. However, in some cases, for contextual reasons, it follows participants' terminology which differs in that they can invoke the word *service* in the narrow sense of *providing services* and use the term *social impact* (or *influence*, or *relevance*) in the broad sense of *engagement* as such. Additionally, one participant referred to *community engagement*, a few to *knowledge transfer* and *exchange*, and a few to *practical development* or *development activities* in the sense of engagement activities. Despite the growing visibility of the term *civic engagement* (Goddard et al., 2016), it was not mentioned in the interviews (participant B described the concept, but used the word *civil* instead of civic).

Conceptualization of the third pillar of academic work

Though it is generally agreed that the practice of the third mission or service to the society has accompanied universities throughout their history (Mugabi, 2014), it was not until the 1970s that it started to grow in all directions – in policies, in grassroots activism, and as a subject of scholarship. This shift is conceptually interrelated with what Ball (2012), with references to Michel Foucault and Jean-François Lyotard, describes as *mercantilization of knowledge*: "What is to count as worthwhile knowledge is determined by its 'impact' – this has fundamental implications for higher education research" (Ball, 2012, p. 33). That is, the value of knowledge, which used to be connected to the Enlightenment ideals of reason and emancipation, suddenly required a new, pragmatic economic legitimation. Teaching had to demonstrate its contribution to the creation of skills, and research had to prove its profitability. Consequently, attention to societal engagement and impact of academic activities was tightly connected to the expansion of market logics in the higher education field. At the same time, institutional policies initially conceived of the third mission as an extension or a supplement to research and teaching. Nevertheless, it did not remain this way, and recent conceptualizations have tried to both overcome the mercantile approach and treat the third mission in full parity with the other two (Marhl & Pausits, 2011; Mugabi, 2014).

Regretfully, what has not been overcome so far is the *duality* of perspectives on the third mission. One side of the coin is service as part of innovative economy, i.e. external demands

on the academia, and its developmental responses to societal pressures. This perspective is still not completely free of an exaggerated emphasis on economic utility. The other side of the coin is societal interaction as viewed from within HEIs, in its relation to research and education. Examples of the first kind are recapped by Mugabi (2014) and associate the third mission with a shift in the modes of knowledge production (Gibbons et al., 1994); the emergence of the Triple Helix Model (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997); a change in the social contract between the state and the university (Duderstadt,1999; Vavakova, 1998); the second academic revolution and the emergence of an entrepreneurial university (Etzkowitz et al., 2000; Etzkowitz, 2004); the enterprise or entrepreneurial university (Vorley & Nelles, 2008); and the adaptive university (Sporn, 2001) (as cited in Mugabi, 2014, pp. 16 & 31). One needs to add to this list the theory of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) and other theoretical perspectives that a) speculate on *economic* linkages between HEIs and their environment, and b) scrutinize institutional changes, such as professionalization of university management or establishment of liaison offices as *adaptive*.

From the perspective of internal development, the third pillar of academic work can be conceptualized as societal use of knowledge by the faculty. For example, as "a natural evolution of the teaching role – enlargement of the target population and diversification of curricula to establish non-traditional relations with industry and national and international institutions – and integration of some developments of research output" (Montesinos et al., 2008, as cited in Mugabi, 2014, p. 16); as continuing education / lifelong learning (Marhl & Pausits, 2011); or as a *scholarship of engagement*, which means "connecting the rich resources of the university to our most pressing social, civic and ethical problems … [and] creating a special climate in which the academic and civic cultures communicate more continuously and more creatively with each other, helping to enlarge … the universe of human discourse and enriching the quality of life for all of us" (Boyer, 1996, pp. 19-20). In this case, research and teaching act as the driving forces behind the emergence of the third pillar, and the process is seen as evolutionary and *intrinsic*, moving from the periphery to the center of academic work (Nedeva, 2007, as cited in Pinheiro et al., 2015b).

Since the two perspectives approach the same phenomenon, there have been natural attempts at joining them together as dimensions of a single concept. Thus, the third mission according to Montesinos et al. (2008, as cited in Marhl & Pausits, 2011) is comprised of a social, an enterprising, and an innovative component. The social dimension is based on a commitment to serve the society rather than on producing revenues (e.g., volunteering for a public cause) and corresponds to the scholarship of engagement. Enterprising dimension, on the contrary, pursues commercial benefits for HEIs (e.g., contract research). Lastly, innovating also brings financial benefits, but primarily it is about using academic knowledge for facilitating change (e.g., government consulting). The latter two components correspond to the economic perspective.

Marhl and Pausits (2011) propose a different set of dimensions, namely, continuing education, technology transfer and innovation, and social engagement. The first one denotes education as a service for all kinds of target audiences, the second dimension covers for-profit uses of research and knowledge exchange, and the last dimension refers to a non-profit interaction between HEIs and external actors for the sake of social welfare. Obviously, the first two reflect the economic approach, and the latter mirrors the principles of the scholarship of engagement. It is also possible that the number of dimensions – subconsciously – comes to three because it mimics the number of pillars.

Conceptual attempts at integrating the missions cannot be separated from their practical purposes, such as designing a set of indicators for assessing third stream activities or addressing the challenges of their institutionalization in HEIs. The bulk of literature on barriers to and governance for institutionalizing the third mission is growing exponentially, and in 2015, a special issue of the *European Journal of Higher Education* (vol. 5, issue 3) was dedicated exclusively to these topics. The most widespread challenges that appear in academic papers and case studies of practice are marginalization of non-profit activities; institutional structures and human resource and remuneration policies that do not support engagement activities, as well as assessment models and criteria that do not incorporate long-term and intangible outputs; decoupling of engagement from teaching and research and from academic units and outsourcing it to peripheral academic entrepreneurs and/or some administrative structures; a mismatch between academic supply and societal demand; cognitive and normative gaps between academic and their audiences; various costs of nurturing longstanding partnerships and the prevalence of short-term projects; uncompensated increment of workload, and so on (Jay, 2012; Pinheiro, Langa, & Pausits, 2015a).

Some of these challenges revolve closer to academics and the logics of the academic profession than others, yet, there is one more challenge that is totally dependent on them. It is true that whilst scholars may resist the economic interpretation of service as conflicting with their norms and values, they are usually more favorably disposed to the unmercenary scholarship of engagement, regardless of their disciplinary affiliation. However, even if societal engagement is practiced in the form of scholarship, it may not be respected or valued by conservative Humboldtian peers who believe it infringes academic autonomy and research excellence (Jay, 2012; Pinheiro et al., 2015a).

Two related concepts target the challenge of institutionalizing the third mission and integrating it into the Humboldtian ideal – *engaged university* (Watson, 2007; Benneworth, 2013) and *civic university* (Goddard et al., 2016). Both theorize new institutional types of the university that are capable of balancing the pressures of economic accountability, academic excellence, and societal value. Ideally, not only they make engagement core to their strategic planning and academic functions, but also enter into networks and form a system, which becomes possible if macro-level policies and societal settings support their efforts.

The concept of the civic university, in addition, promulgates a stronger embeddedness in the city and the region and a softer boundary between HEIs and the society. Correspondingly, Goddard et al. (2016) elaborate on the overlaps between the three pillars. Thus, an overlap of teaching and engagement results in outreach activities and enriches student experience; an overlap of teaching and research is mutually enhancive and connects theory to practice; and an overlap of research and engagement creates socio-economic benefits, new research impulses, and better learning (Goddard et al., 2016). Realization of these ideals depends on a constellation of at least three factors: the national institutional framework; university's geographic embeddedness; and university's specific activities (Laredo, 2007, as cited in Pinheiro et al., 2015b). The subsections that follow (*Chapters 4.2* & *5.1*) will provide insights into these aspects for the case university and into academics' conceptualizations of the third pillar (*Chapter 5.2-5.4*).

4.1.2 Societal engagement and social sciences

The whole variety of the definitions and conceptions of societal engagement can be distilled down to two key dimensions – *external relations* and *relevancy* (Nedeva, 2007, as cited in

Pinheiro et al., 2015b). The first embraces university-society connections and interdependencies; and the second deals with the societal utility and impact of academic work.

University-society interactions in social sciences

Benneworth, Charles, Conway, and Younger (2009) offer a typology of archetypal engagement activities for HEIs that consists of four areas, or delivery modes, for academic engagement. *Engaged research* activities include collaborative research projects, research projects involving co-creation, research commissioned by hard-to-reach groups, and research on such groups fed back to them. *Knowledge exchange* applies to consultancy for hard-to-reach group as a client, public funded knowledge exchange projects, capacity building between hard-to-reach groups, knowledge exchange through student consultancy, and promoting public understanding and media. *Service* activities refer to making university assets and services open, encouraging hard-to-reach groups to use assets, making an intellectual expert contribution, and contributing to the civic life of the region. Finally, *engaged teaching* means teaching appropriate engagement practices, practical education for citizenship, public lectures and seminar series, continuing professional development for hard-to-reach groups, and adult and lifelong learning.

A glance at existing studies of university-society interactions in social sciences (Bastow et al., 2014; Bullard, 2007; Olmos Peñuela, 2013) immediately confirms that academics in this field have tried their hand at all the engagement activities listed by Benneworth et al. (2009). The pool of their stakeholders also does not differ much from that of STE – governments, funding bodies and donors, partners and clients, etc. However, there are differences in the mix of activities and in the extent and kind of collaborations with certain types of stakeholders.

In a series of empirical studies of *the Spanish Council for Scientific Research*, Olmos Peñuela (2013) observes that SSH research is as sought-after by the society as STE research (cf. Landry, Amara, & Lamari, 2001), but, unlike the latter, it has a more prominent national and local orientation. Academics from SSH are more likely to popularize science, and their interactions with stakeholders tend to be less formal. Formal collaborations may grow out of informal contacts (e.g., by making a contract), and the two types of communication may coexist, but it is also quite common for such collaborations in SSH to remain informal for a long while – and, as a result, invisible and unaccounted for. With that, project-based research and its tighter grant funding conditions induce more formalization than activities backed up with core funds and involving intangible benefits (research data, etc.).

More notably, SSH researchers interact with governments, non-profit organizations, and the media to a significantly larger extent than with businesses, and their engagement in commercial activities is considerably lower than that of STE (Olmos Peñuela, 2013). The most popular activities for SSH are, seemingly, consultancy and contract research, personnel mobility (e.g., researchers moving to municipal and governmental positions) and training courses and lectures. It needs to be stressed that SSH academics are well aware of the barriers to institutionalizing societal engagement mentioned in the previous subsection. They report lack of organizational support, discrimination against societal engagement in reward and promotion policies, and failure to address their discipline-specific needs. Last but not least, in the absence of centralized institutional coordination, engagement activities are greatly dependent on the individual characteristics of academics. Although these findings were obtained in the Spanish context, they are consistent with the data on social sciences from the U.S. (Bullard, 2007;

except for the feeling of lowliness that was not characteristic of the participants in this research) and Finland (Auranen, 2006; Nieminen & Kaukonen, 2001)

The relevance of social sciences

As noted in *Chapter 4.1.1*, in neoliberal economy, higher education is justified through its societal impacts and their assessment. Measured by STE standards, SSH produce less visible, less tangible, less quantifiable, and less commercialized outputs, which prompts two generic reactions. The first one is to assimilate social sciences to the market vocabulary, develop a set of indicators, and create rankings; or, to communicate their relevance in less "Procrustean" terms, but, nevertheless, accept the market and managerial logics behind the dominant discourse. The second tactic is to defend their former rationalization as an "art for art's sake" or a "disinterested and autonomous pursuit of knowledge" automatically benefitting the society. In reality, it is not as simple as that, but it is doubtful that the second tactic could yield the desired results because the cognitive gap between its proponents and decision-makers is too wide, which hampers dialogue.

It is no surprise that, just as there is no international consensus on the name and meaning of the university's third mission, there are no conventional methodologies and indicators to assess and rank it. Economic and social impacts of social sciences may overlap, unfold over time, be attributed to multiple causes and actors, or may be negative, and there are many more factors that make assessment and ranking a difficult task (Bornmann, 2013). In practice, evaluations of societal impact are somehow already implemented by national higher education systems, funding organizations and scholars using econometrics, surveys, and case studies. In Finland, for instance, research assessment exercises cover external funding, expert tasks, popularization of science, media visibility, various cases of cooperation and patenting, entrepreneurial companies, etc. (Bornmann, 2013).

Thus, measurement of societal impact has been lagging behind assessments of research excellence not as much in practice as in theory. There is only a handful of research projects that try to find out how to measure societal impact by constructing frameworks and determining categories and indicators, and their impact, in turn, is not big. The most cited analytical framework was developed by Molas-Gallart, Salter, Patel, Scott, and Duran (2002) and is made up of 12 categories with corresponding indicators that span for-profit and non-profit activities alike: technology commercialization, entrepreneurial activities, advisory work and contracts, commercialization of facilities, contract research, collaboration in academic research, staff flow, student placements, learning activities, curriculum alignment, social networking and non-academic dissemination. Comprehensiveness of this framework agrees with the diversity of social impact but is ill-adapted to implementation, since it is quite burdensome to account for every category.

Another noteworthy example of scholarship is the EU-funded project *E3M – European Indicators and Ranking Methodology for University Third Mission* (http://www.e3mproject.eu). The project (a Delphi study) did not culminate in a new ranking because of a boundlessly diverse and variable nature of the phenomenon. Still, it delivered some helpful ideas for evaluating third stream processes, as well as for metrics, indicators, and proxies of impact. Even though project participants conclude that, "The social engagement of universities should be a commitment rather than a competition" (E3M, 2012, p. 20), the ambition lives on. For instance, in November 2016, Russia announced a proposal for a new international university ranking called *Three Missions of Universities* that would have

indicators for "stability and development potential" and distance education (Proshina, 2016). Meanwhile, the U-Multirank project (http://www.umultirank.eu) has already launched a multidimensional university ranking that includes indicators for regional engagement and knowledge transfer.

Communication of the relevance of social sciences has attained more success with a recent publication of *The Impact of the Social Sciences: How Academics and their Research Make a Difference* by Bastow et al. (2014). The book is an outcome of a large-scale British project intended to rectify the distorted image of the field and reveal the opportunities that these disciplines carry for policymakers and general audiences. The project, with its use of blogging and social media, is itself a demonstration that nothing innovative is alien to social scientists. The book is, of course, a more traditional academic output, but it preaches what the project has practiced – digitalization and visibility in the social media, publication in the form of articles rather than book chapters, and closer involvement with business and the corporate sector, government and public policy making, civil society organizations and the third sector, media and public networks. By calculating the economic value of social science research in the UK and applying similar measures in discussing social impact, the authors, obviously, accept the challenge of STE and NPM and endorse their principles.

After all, there might be a third tactic, beyond resistance/adoption or symbolic compliance, – to modify the neoliberal standards of relevance through the peculiar properties of social sciences and their pathways to policymaking. This lane, however, requires further understanding of the rationalities that govern all partakers in the conversation.

4.1.3 Societal engagement and the changing academic profession

Pinheiro et al. (2015b) state that "the third mission has become part and parcel of the rationalization of the university" (p. 229), but discussions of this rationalization too often overrate top-down processes and underestimate individual faculty members as a starting point for advancing it (cf. Göktepe-Hultén, 2008; Silka, Teisl, & Settele, 2015). In the meantime, national and institutional policies are implemented by individuals in possession of distinct cultures, cognition, volition, and behaviors. Individual academics preserve the logics of their profession alongside the logics promoted by policymakers. Therefore, they can turn external pressures to their advantage or employ other strategies that can twist original meanings and intentions (Auranen, 2006; D'Este, & Perkmann, 2011; Enders, de Boer, & Leišytė, 2009). In terms of the policies on societal engagement and impact, research indicates that utilization of social science knowledge is significantly affected by researchers' behavior and their efforts at dissemination and adaptation of knowledge for the audience (Landry et al., 2001). Thus, the advancement of societal engagement is in academics' hands, and policies need to give more consideration to this fact.

Having said that, it also needs to be said that academics are not omnipotent. To the contrary, they are under much stress and frustration nowadays (Teelken, 2012), as research quality is sidelined by research productivity and commercial engagement, academic freedom and collegiality are challenged by corporate governance and funding models, the weakening of power is paralleled by the weakening of prestige, teaching is battling with students-as-customers model and internationalization, and job security is weakened by the reliance on grants and adjuncts and by the global competition. To cope with the pressures, academics recurrently engage in symbolically compliant or pragmatic behavior. There is research

evidence that they are skeptical about the corporate logics of managerialism, but take them for granted and seldom use them to enhance the quality of their work (Lund, 2015; Teelken, 2012).

Societal engagement as a dimension of the changing academic profession

It is appropriate at this point to recall that this thesis defines *academic work* as the daily practice of understanding (learning), discovery (research), dissemination (teaching), application (service), and control (management and administration) of knowledge (Clark, 1987; Teichler et al., 2013), whereas the term *academic profession* implicates that academics are a societal group distinguished by knowledge-based expertise acquired through formal training and certification; by social prestige (at least in Finland; Aarrevaara, Dobson, & Postareff, 2014); and by normative commitment enforced through professional associations (Abbott, 1988).

Enders and Musselin (2008) and Musselin (2007) outline the transformation of academic work and profession. They observe that in many countries the state delegated employment and management authority to HEIs, and, as a consequence, the extent and forms of corporate-type control over academic work (new hierarchies, incentives, performance-based pay, etc.) greatly proliferated. Academics are expected to be loyal to HEIs as employing organizations, in addition to disciplinary loyalty, which is counterbalanced by the globalization of the academic labor market and unprecedented academic mobility.

Simultaneously, the scope of academic freedom narrowed to the freedom of teaching and research, whereas time distribution, organization of work, and the structure of academic units are dictated and monitored by employing institutions, and even the remaining autonomy is getting more restricted because of evaluations and rankings that involve non-academic criteria and panelists. Musselin (2007) understands these and similar processes as a transformation of the academic profession from a craft into an industry, subsequent to the massification of higher education in the 1960s. Incidentally, her interpretation coincides with Gumport's (2000) analysis of the transformation of higher education from a social institution into an industry.

This transformation brings about two kinds of change. Firstly, the distance between academic and corporate worlds is diminishing, and new hybrid practices appear both in the academia (cf. Kolsaker, 2008) and in other societal sectors. In a knowledge economy, academics lose their monopoly over knowledge and share the status of knowledge workers with other professional groups. Secondly, academic profession becomes more diversified and specialized. Earlier, tasks that were complementary to teaching and research – building networks, engaging with societal partners, and others – were as common as today, but today they have become an official part of the job, and many are rewarded (e.g., success in obtaining grant funding may raise chances of being hired).

Besides, there is a considerable difference in specialization between junior and senior academics and between short-term employees and tenured professoriate. With seniority and tenure, the share of networking and administrative responsibilities seems to increase at the expense of publication activity, whilst younger untenured academics seem to be more prone to the influence of academic capitalism (Bullard, 2007). Finally yet importantly, the academic profession shows a tendency to be segmented into task-oriented posts (teaching/research/management only; Coates, 2017), which undermines the Humboldtian paradigm, but other conceptions of unity are in the making. Academic portfolios are no longer limited to publication lists – they should display a mix of competences and skills, and a

growing number of academics become “blended professionals”, having one foot in the academia and one foot out (Whitchurch, 2008).

A celebrated series of studies *The Changing Academy – The Changing Academic Profession in International Comparative Perspective* documents the abovementioned and other developments. It surveys how the perennial and emerging functions of higher education are translated into the various dimensions of the academic profession. Concerning service activities, this series (Ćulum, Rončević, & Ledić, 2013a) finds that they occupy the smallest share of the academics’ workload and are not properly incentivized or rewarded, which, in sum, testifies to the marginal position of societal engagement in the triumvirate of missions. Despite that, academics demonstrate a very positive attitude to engagement and appreciation of societal relevance, viewing service as their obligation. Scholars likewise appreciate applied research, but commercialization and technology transfer, on average, score low on their agenda. Moreover, senior academics prefer service activities linked to teaching and research to politically- and community-oriented service.

Inter alia, *The Changing Academy* registers the situation with the academic profession in Finnish research universities. The data were obtained in 2007-2008, before the reform of 2009-2010, but perceptions and cultures evolve slowly, and most of them hold good for 2016-2017. Finnish academics partake in major global trends and pressures, but strikingly differ in some respects. For instance, in Finnish HEIs there are a lot of posts that facilitate an isolation of teaching, research, and administration (Aarrevaara, Dobson, & Pekkola, 2011; Aarrevaara et al., 2014); twice as many academics believe that teaching is reinforced by research as by service; and the strategic importance of grant funding for research is high, which accords with the global picture. On the other hand, the power of collegial culture and the power of the senior faculty over research and societal interaction remain stronger in Finnish universities than in some of their international counterparts, and practical knowledge and experience outside the academia are deemed less significant.

Though the demand for the relevance of academic work is quite visible in Finland, disseminating knowledge and fostering real change are perceived as insufficiently acknowledged by the society (Aarrevaara et al., 2011). For all that, Finland can boast the highest proportion of university academics with positive views on the application of scholarly knowledge to real-life settings, and, although the vast majority exhibit a research leaning in their work, they allocate much more time for political service as elected officers and union leaders than their European peers (Ćulum et al., 2013a).

Societal engagement as a dimension of the changing academic identity

Identity is a focal point for analysis aimed at understanding how individual academics make sense of external pressures while remaining faithful to their values, norms, and beliefs (Stensaker, Henkel, Välimaa, & Sarrico, 2012). As identities are constructed in interaction with other societal actors and reference groups, they are able to change along with the changing institutional environment (or, in conflict with it, see Winter & O’Donohue, 2012). More precisely, the disassociation of academics’ functional roles mentioned in the preceding subsection could lead to a greater fragmentation or to a remixing of academics’ role identities, and indeed such cases have been observed in Europe and the U.S. (Leišytė, 2015). Being in a research-intensive or a teaching-only position could have far-reaching consequences for an individual. Thus, teacher identity is generally disliked by academics when the esteem and rewards for teaching positions are lower than for research-intensive ones.

Although traditional academic identities linked to core missions, disciplines, and departments are strong as ever, third mission and boundary crossing activities facilitate an alignment of academics with external communities that vest them with resources, reputation, status, and, ultimately, ego-satisfaction. Novel structures, such as entrepreneurial units, also impact identities by replacing teaching and/or research role and identity with an entrepreneurial role and identity.

What is more, there is a whole stream of publications addressing the tension between the academic profession and the corporate university. Accordingly, Lam (2010) and Leišytė (2015) each suggest four scenarios of changes in academic identity in response to a wider societal change, whereas Winter (2009) conceptualizes the tensions between academic and managerial identities in the form of a binary opposition of *academic manager* and *managed academic* identities. Simply put, the academic manager embraces the corporate neoliberal discourse with its logics of hierarchy, efficiency, commercialization, and productivity, whilst the managed academic, conversely, protects the logics of professional autonomy and disputes marketization.

Lam's (2010) typology captures hybrid developments between the two polar sets of values identified by Winter (2009) – *traditional* (profession logics, managed academic) vs. *entrepreneurial* (market logics, academic manager). Academics of *Type I* are *traditional scientists* that perceive the demands of economic relevance as an assault on their autonomy, argue against entrepreneurship and commercialization, especially in basic research, and maintain the Humboldtian role identity. *Type IV, entrepreneurial scientists,* on the contrary, view commercialization as an opportunity and engage in a different mode of knowledge production. They have assimilated market logics to the extent that they risk losing academic status in the eyes of their peers.

Academics of *Types II* and *III* exploit the changing circumstances to their advantage. *Type II, traditional hybrids*, experiment with science and business. They mix elements of both in different proportions, depending on the situation and experiences. Their identity stays indeterminate, which may cause discomfort, but it also enables learning and sensemaking of new opportunities. *Type III, entrepreneurial hybrids*, have successfully established an interface and exchange between the academia and the market. Their role identity is rooted in the academic community, and they use market logics on their own terms, mobilizing external resources and altering exogenous logics to support research goals and practices. Concordantly, *Type III* scientists are more likely to positively evaluate the impact of external collaboration on their academic work and careers.

Leišytė's (2015) typology is built around the tension between disciplinary (professional) and organizational (managerial, corporate) identities. Her *Type I* academics, same as above, resist change and retain traditional disciplinary values. *Type II* academics lose core disciplinary values without replacing them with an organizational identity and search for some other options. These types preserve the rift between occupation and organization, while identity *Types III* and *IV* bridge it.

Type III refers to hybrids of the core professional identity and other corporate/market identities, in varying degrees. This type is characteristic of academic entrepreneurs, managers, and researchers who pursue new modes of knowledge production. Finally, in *Type IV* scenario, market and corporation logics replace academic logics. Such academics may conduct proprietary research or become professional managers. Apparently, Leišytė's (2015) *Type III*

corresponds to Lam's (2010) *Types II* and *III*, Leišytė's and Lam's *Types IV* are almost identical (Leišytė's description is less radical), and Leišytė's *Type II* is absent from Lam's typology.

To conclude, it is necessary to point out that managerial practices in the Finnish academia have also transformed the way local academics make sense of their work and identities. Thus, in a small-scale qualitative study, Vähäsantanen et al. (2015) witness an emotionally ambivalent attitude to academic work among Finnish doctoral students – participants perceive their work as both challenging and rewarding. Challenges include a disparity between professional ambitions and external expectations, pressures to combine research excellence with innovative teaching, and lack of time resources. Rewarding experiences are associated with work autonomy, professional relationships, and co-creation activities with peers. Evidently, these rewarding experiences are related to academic profession and community logics and identities, whereas the challenges are coming from the profession, corporation, and market.

The impact of societal engagement on academic work

Societal engagement seems to be part and parcel of the changing academic profession and identity, but how does it relate to teaching and research? Studies that strive to answer this question are extremely scarce and are mostly built on the more established and visible university-industry collaborations, leaving social scientists out of account.

Perkmann and Walsh (2009) examine the impacts of university-industry relations on public research in engineering disciplines. They find that the difference between a) basic and applied research projects, and b) between one-off projects and diversified, continuous partnerships is an important determiner of such impacts. Namely, engagement in basic, multiform and long-term projects brings more valuable academic results. Nevertheless, applied projects are also worthwhile because they facilitate a more intensive interaction between the partners, enhance mutual learning, and nurture ingenious ideas and projects. Their results suggest that, for some STE disciplines, even the most non-academic projects can generate academic pay-offs.

Furthermore, counter to market and corporation logics, research benefits are the most powerful attractors for academics that engage with industry and develop innovations, while commercialization provides a much weaker motivation. It is also of interest to note that, according to Perkmann and Walsh (2009), consulting is not a threat to academic productivity when it is complementary to research and advances it through informal interaction. A problem-solving project may lead to future joint research projects, more networking, and more funding raised from the government and other sources.

Watermeyer (2015) analyses interviews from 40 academics in the UK who work in all sorts of academic positions in different types of HEIs, and belong to different disciplines. He explores the effects of public engagement on academic work and observes that academics are "at risk of becoming lost, somewhere between the rhetoric of policy, which recommends all such things to all academicians, and the reality of executing such a role in a space, perhaps as one respondent stated, a 'baseless space', that does not support or recognize such endeavor" (Watermeyer, 2015, p. 344).

Firstly, third stream activities are not integrated into the core missions of research and teaching and remain supplementary, customized to reports about societal impact. Secondly, Watermeyer (2015) discovers that active societal interaction has a negative effect on career

progression because it impairs research productivity, and the third mission is not part of evaluation and promotion schemes (cf. Koryakina, Sarrico, & Teixeira, 2015). Even senior academics at the top of their careers try to keep public engagement within certain limits because peers could perceive them as co-opted by external partners, and their behavior could be judged as unprofessional. Finally, engagement destabilizes academic identities because it is largely met with suspicion by the academic community, and motivation and rewards for it are entirely individual. It follows from Watermeyer's study that it is more common to engage with the society at the earlier stages of the academic career (though it is also disadvantageous for the career advancement of early stage researchers) and in applied disciplines that value soft skills.

The situation in Finland, however, does not look that pessimistic. Finnish academics take their marketized environment (e.g., funding applications and project work) for granted and play down their complaints. Nieminen and Kaukonen (2001) notice that academic participants in their study on Finnish universities in the knowledge-based economy translate development work into academic terms and set generation of ideas and knowledge production as their primary goals in collaboration with industry and business. For this reason, they do not perceive contract research as problematic; despite time and data constraints, contract work has a genuine research interest for them. So, it is not non-academic activity *per se*, but the short-term nature of contracts when they become the main source of income that challenges academic careers and the functioning of research units (research positions and continuity, long-term strategic planning, etc.). This risk is, nevertheless, mitigated by research funding obtained from public agencies, even though funding programs might limit the choice of problems for investigation.

Societal engagement highlights the importance of networking and academic leadership for Finnish researchers. Networks serve as resources for knowledge exchange and cooperation and as a community where people are linked by personal relationships, emotional connection ("good chemistry"), personal reputation and investment in the community – that is, by typical community logics. Academic leadership is important because the balance of missions within the academic unit is heavily dependent on leading professors.

Nieminen and Kaukonen (2001) divide the positive impacts of societal engagement on academic work into two groups: a) financial and facility-related benefits, and b) knowledge-related benefits. Facility-related benefits (use of laboratories, materials, and devices) are enjoyed chiefly by STE and medical sciences, but financial and knowledge-related effects are common for all. Societal interaction guarantees up-to-date expertise and access to interesting phenomena, hard-to-reach, and tacit knowledge, fosters cross-disciplinarity and extends networks, and saves costs.

The challenges of societal engagement for academic work include lack of time for converting data into publications and differences in cultural and educational backgrounds, values, action models, work patterns and conditions. Academics are usually on the same wave with partners from R&D departments that share profession logics with them, but find it harder to communicate with businessmen that profess market logics. In addition, there are structural challenges like unclear organizational policies or ineffective support from research services and liaison offices. With experience, as mutual understanding between academics and their partners increases, conflict of interests gets settled, and many challenges get neutralized.

Neither these challenges, nor the benefits above are specifically Finnish. Similar impacts are mentioned by Koryakina et al. (2015), Olmos Peñuela (2013), Perkmann and Phillips (2011),

Watermeyer (2015), and in the literature on the consequences of academic engagement with industry reviewed by Perkmann et al. (2013). Finnish academics appear to be better distinguished by what they do not report – for example, increased secrecy that discords with open research and precludes dissemination of research outcomes does not seem to be of concern to them. Lastly, Perkmann et al. make the only point on the influence of engagement on teaching. With a reference to Lin and Bozeman (2006, as cited in Perkmann et al., 2013), they state that academics with exposure to industry support a larger number of students.

To sum up, despite the terminological and conceptual uncertainties and structural barriers to societal engagement, university-society interactions in social sciences are thriving and add to the utility and impact of social science research. Two major changes in the higher education field that have been transforming the academic profession, identity, and work also affect the third stream of academic activities. They are NPM that serves as a carrier for corporation logics in HEIs (stronger organizational management, performance measurement) and academic capitalism that promotes market logics and encourages academics' entrepreneurial behaviors.

In this context, academic roles and identities "are renegotiated and reasserted as academics encounter new expectations and pressures in their work environments" (Leišytė, 2015, p. 65). Although the third pillar of academic work is frequently marginalized and disjunct from the fundamental missions of teaching and research, the fragmentation of the academic profession and identity already testifies to the existence of engaged scholar identity and engaged scholar-researcher identity hybrids, which could ultimately result in a formal institutionalization of the engaged scholar role.

Challenges incurred by the practice of societal engagement on research (impact on teaching is an uncharted territory in the literature) are globally the same and can be explained by conflicts of logics – academic *profession* vs. *market* and/or *corporation*. However, internal challenges, such as inappropriateness of organizational support and lack of peer respect for the third mission, look bigger than the challenges coming from the outside. The latter are usually equilibrated by academic pay-offs and self-fulfillment experienced in the process of external collaboration. Here, *community* logics come to help – communication in networks boosts both academic outputs and ego-satisfaction. What remains to be discussed now is the role of the *state* and its logics in all this. Accordingly, the next section examines Finnish national policies on societal engagement.

4.2 Finnish National Policy on Societal Engagement

4.2.1 State policy as a source of diverging institutional logics in the academia

According to Välimaa and Hoffman (2008), "The distinctive feature of the Finnish welfare state version of the knowledge society is the strong expectation that the state should play a key role between society and the market. The State acts as regulator via legislation, making it a flexible organizer of the development activities needed to reach the goals of a knowledge society" (p. 274). Yet, acting as such regulator is far from being easy due to an inherent tension between the traditional notion of the welfare state and the global spread of the neoliberal approach to socioeconomic development.

Castells and Himanen (2002) observe that since 1980s, the state in Finland has been playing a twofold role. As a welfare state, it is entrusted with safeguarding the wellbeing of its citizens, that is, with education, health, information and social services, and with redistribution of

wealth. As a developmental state, it supports innovation-based economic growth and wealth creation. Both goals can be attained, in part, through a university system, and it is only natural to assume that the academics' narratives should bear prominent traces of state logics. These logics, however, reflect the state's dual mission of the procurement of social justice and the development of the market. Whereas the welfare state is supposed to confer public goods on all its subjects at no cost, neoliberal ideas revolve around deregulation and privatization. Surprising as it may seem, it is the very welfare state that injects market and corporation logics into higher education, making it vulnerable to interinstitutional contradictions.

Conceptually, during the 1950s–2010s, higher education policies in Finland evolved from viewing education as a purely public good to an ambivalent treatment of higher education as a source of national innovation and international competitiveness, on the one hand, and as an industry that trains experts for the labor market and sustains regional economies, on the other. The expansion of the sector from the 1960s onwards called forth a series of regulatory reforms (Cai & Kivistö, 2011). First, all private universities were nationalized in the 1970s and 1980s. Next, in the mid-1990s, the government introduced performance-based steering and established a binary system of comprehensive universities and universities of applied sciences (polytechnics). This division reflects the aforesaid ambivalence: while universities concentrate on world-class research and on teaching grounded in research, polytechnics are expected to excel in applied R&D, graduate employability and regional – above all, entrepreneurial – development. Lastly, major neoliberal policy steps were taken in 2009, with the enactment of a new Universities Act (Ministry of Education and Culture [MEC], 2009b). As Tirronen (2014) puts it, "A paradigmatic turn from Welfare University, which emphasized university as a state institution, into Post-Welfare University, which emphasizes university as an autonomous institution in a competitive environment, was taking place" (p. 98). As strong state control gave way to legal independence and financial and operational autonomy of HEIs, the logics of the market and corporation began to supplement and/or supplant state logics.

Hybridization of state and market logics in Finnish academia is perhaps best illustrated by the case of tuition fees. The new Universities Act 558/2009 (MEC, 2009b, section 10) allows charging fees for bachelor and master degree programs from non-EU/EEA students, provided the language of instruction is other than Finnish or Swedish, and the institution offers scholarships for gifted learners. Here, the welfare state upholds the access of EU/EEA citizens and permanent residents to free education, protects national languages, and tries to maintain social equity via scholarship provision, still letting the universities commercialize a segment of their educational services.

One important feature of the Finnish higher education that was not changed by the latest reform is the adherence to the Humboldtian ideal of the unity of teaching and research (Välimaa & Hoffman, 2008). Thus, the Universities Act obligates professors to deliver education based on scientific work (MEC, 2009b, section 33.1). On the flipside, academics were no longer employed as civil servants and instead were converted into employees of public corporations and private foundations (MEC, 2009a, section 10). Additionally, the implementation of the new legislation necessitated a reorganization of universities' management and structures. The strengthening of managerial power, reshuffling of habitual units and hierarchies, and propagation of academic capitalism (e.g., in the form of grant writing and fundraising) came into collision with academic autonomy, collegiality, and freedom. For instance, rectors who used to be *elected* internally by the universities and chair their boards are now *appointed* as chief executives by these boards, which, on top of that, have no fewer than 40% of external members. Finally, since 2010, the size of the higher education sector has been gradually

reduced through mergers of institutions and degree programs and through disciplinary profiling of universities, bringing along staffing cuts. Needless to say, the change in status and organizational environment could not instantly lead to a change of identity, values, and perceptions of the academics.

4.2.2 Policy steering of societal engagement

Analysis of current legislative and policy papers reveals a gap between the state agenda for universities' third mission and the particulars of its implementation and evaluation. Even the agenda itself is formulated in quite general terms, especially in the case of universities when compared to polytechnics (cf. Lepori & Kyvik, 2010). Unless policymakers spell out some specifications, the steering of societal engagement will remain very loose. This is neither to argue against soft governance nor claim that the *Ministry of Education and Culture* has no influence with the universities when it comes to their interaction with the society. In fact, the declared reform goal of increasing the autonomy of Finnish HEIs is found to be at variance with their strategic contingency on the government as the topmost external stakeholder, on both discursive and tangible levels (Kohtamäki, 2014). Universities are governed through legislation, serial development plans for education and research, triennial performance agreements with yearly feedback from the Ministry, and various modes of funding. Therefore, it can be anticipated that, in the long run, the steering of the third mission should exhibit intensifying trends, with levels approaching those for education and research. Meanwhile, existing university strategies may echo the national discourse on societal engagement, leaving its construal and delivery to the discretion of various actors inside the organizations.

The legal stipulation of the duty of research universities and polytechnics to the society sends a mixed message that can be explained by a blending of different logics. On the one part, they must "educate students to serve their country and humanity" (MEC, 2009b, section 2.1), which can be traced back to the state logics of citizenship and increasing the common good. On the other part, the Universities Act 558/2009 obligates the universities and, notably, professors to "interact with the surrounding society" (MEC, 2009b, sections 2.1 & 33.1) and promote and evaluate the societal impact of their activities (MEC, 2009b, sections 2.1 & 87.1). Although the law overtly mentions only research findings, education and art, somewhat narrowing the scope of third stream activities, its underlying intention and the use of vocabulary – *societal interaction*, *impact*, and *evaluation* – can be linked to the market- and corporation-based logics of accountability, productivity, and performance management.

It has been generally believed that both global competitiveness and regional impact of Finnish HEIs can be enhanced by attracting external partners to management, developing cooperation with industry, business and non-profit organizations, and raising supplementary funding. All these measures are interrelated – cooperation with external partners brings along additional finances and is strengthened by their participation in university governance. However, while the new law enforces such participation, the state funding model at the time of the study restrained the appropriation of non-governmental funds.

Universities are no longer "accounting offices under the state budget" (Kuoppala & Nättilä, 2012, p. 167), they are autonomous agents in a post-welfare economy that can make independent decisions on their money and property, receive donations, offer services, sign contracts, etc. In terms of the institutional logics perspective, the state logic of redistribution has been replaced with the market and corporation logics promoting the understanding of the academic institution as a business enterprise and a corporate organization (*Tables 1* & *2*,

Chapter 2). This is evident, e.g., in the strategic program published by the Prime Minister's Office in 2015 (Prime Minister's Office, Finland, 2015). The program presents innovations in the market as an outcome of effective cooperation between HEIs and business and pledges incentives for the commercialization of research.

Notwithstanding this replacement of logics, the *Ministry of Education and Culture* may cover up to 64% of university budgets (MEC, n.d.a). The formula used for the allocation of block grants is comprised of specific indicators for the impact, quality and internationalization of education and research (75%), and of strategic priorities and policy considerations (25%). Societal engagement is not featured in the formula, neither as a dimension nor among the indicators (MEC, n.d.b). Moreover, owing to a low marketization of higher education in Finland, the government indirectly fosters the relevance and efficiency in the sector via public agencies like the *Academy of Finland* (http://www.aka.fi/en) or *Tekes – The Finnish Funding Agency for Innovation* (https://www.tekes.fi/en) that award research grants on a competitive basis. Although the money raised through them is officially registered as external, the assets are provided by the state, and the share of real external funding coming from foreign and domestic stakeholders and other sources is smaller than the total share of supplementary funding.

The ultimate financial dependence of HEIs on the Finnish state guarantees their stable long-term development and compliance with national policy goals, yet limits the focus of their performativity and operations to internationalization and quality assurance in teaching and research (MEC, 2012). Despite continuous efforts at studying the societal and regional impact of higher education commissioned by the Ministry (see, e.g., Ritsilä et al., 2008), the notion of *impact* remains unspecified, unlike the criteria of *quality* and *efficiency* – the former appealing to the traditional logics of the academic profession, and the latter being already assimilated by policymakers and administrators (Melin et al., 2015). For instance, many stakeholders in the universities agree with prioritizing the financing of research that tackles societal challenges and demands, but are less appreciative of the value of collaboration with industry for research quality (Melin et al., 2015).

This observation is substantiated by the recent findings of the *Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council (FINHEEC)* that evaluated universities' social and regional impact and explored ways to strengthen and monitor it (Ilmavirta et al., 2013). FINHEEC suggested conceptual and financial amendments to current policies. Thus, it deemed it essential to make the task of promoting social impact a separate profit area along research and teaching, on the one hand, and development and innovation, on the other (Ilmavirta et al., 2013). To this end, the report recommended creating an evaluation model and reward schemes for societal interaction that could be embedded in the funding systems on the national and institutional levels. Furthermore, the evaluation called for an open discussion of "the binding force of exerting social impact" (Ilmavirta et al., 2013, p. 5); a more prominent incorporation of this task into governmental and organizational strategies; a more effective integration of higher education and economic policies on both national and regional levels; and an increased cooperation within university networks, as well as with partners and customers from the business and public sectors.

Noticeably, even though the discourse of the publication actively utilized the new public management vocabulary of *service provision, productivity, impact indicators*, or *relevance for the workplace*, it made a separate statement that business development in the form of generating start-ups and supporting entrepreneurship is consistent with the social mission of

higher education institutions (Ilmavirta et al., 2013, p. 5), hereby implying that there should be no segmentation of market logics between research universities and universities of applied sciences polytechnics in this respect. This statement also appears as a response to the fact that universities lag behind polytechnics in supporting entrepreneurship (Viljamaa & Moisio, 2015). While individual academics and groups in many of the universities pursue entrepreneurial activities and commercialization of their research, institutions as a whole seem to focus on knowledge creation and transfer rather than on directly exploiting their expertise to make profit (Melin et al., 2015).

Promoting the exploitation and impact of research results is also among high-priority recommendations by the *Research and Innovation Policy Council of Finland* for 2015-2020 (Research and Innovation Policy Council, 2014, pp. 17-19). Similar to FINHEEC's evaluation, this review suggests that societal impact should become a funding criterion, and that a successful implementation of the task requires better incentives and measurements, and a more supportive environment. The document recognizes an interactive nature of producing added value for the society and gives a very broad interpretation of the term *impact*, including both concrete and intangible outputs of education and research. Still, it advances market logics when it aspires to enhance the commercialization of research results or insists that researchers and research organizations need to improve their business and entrepreneurial skills. Importantly, the paper emphasizes that societal interaction is closely interconnected with scientific research and education based on research, and should not be practiced as a separate activity. For that matter, the Humboldtian ideal receives a third dimension to it.

Summing up, it is evident that, in a post-welfare economy, the Finnish state has become an agent of market and corporation logics in the academia. Against this background, societal interaction looms large in the policy agenda, and HEIs are steered towards engaging with the society and accounting for their impact. However, circulating definitions of universities' third mission are inconclusive, and its legal and financial base remains undeveloped. It is likely that the inability to reach a public consensus on the topic can be explained by a combination of diverging logics, such as the state logic of common good, the market logics of profit and accountability, and the corporation logic of productivity. That is why policy papers admit the existence of intangible impacts, such as tacit knowledge, and urge commercialization of research at the same time. The decision on how to balance and synthesize these logics is forthcoming. In the meantime, it would be interesting to find out whether the neo-Humboldtian holistic approach to teaching, research, and societal interaction is postulated as a policy goal aimed at refining current practices, or is rooted in the actual attitudes and routines of the Finnish academic community.

5. Case Study Analysis

This chapter provides analysis of the case that is guided by the main research question and sub-questions (*Chapter 1.3*) and is organized in accordance with the steps stipulated by the analytical framework of the study (*Figure 4*, *Chapter 2.3.4* and below). It opens with a presentation of the case that illuminates participants' organizational environment by drawing upon documentary data and academic sources. The remainder of the chapter rests on the analysis of interview data. It first delves deeper into the examination of the institutional context of the sensemaking process and presents an outline of the inventory of institutional logics available to and accessed by academics in the field of higher education, as well as determines which of these logics focus the attention of academics on the salient features of their professional environment (*Step 1*). The next step (*Step 2*) takes the analysis to the realm of academics' intentionality and portrays their choices as reliant on prior knowledge and experiences, on the logics behind their motivation to engage with the society, and on their role identities. Then, the chapter explores academics' sensemaking responses to competing institutional logics inherent in their definitions of societal engagement, including various types of hybridization of logics that are manifest in academics' narratives (*Step 3*). To finish, the analysis is consolidated with a view to answering the main research question – "*How do academics in social sciences make sense of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective?*".

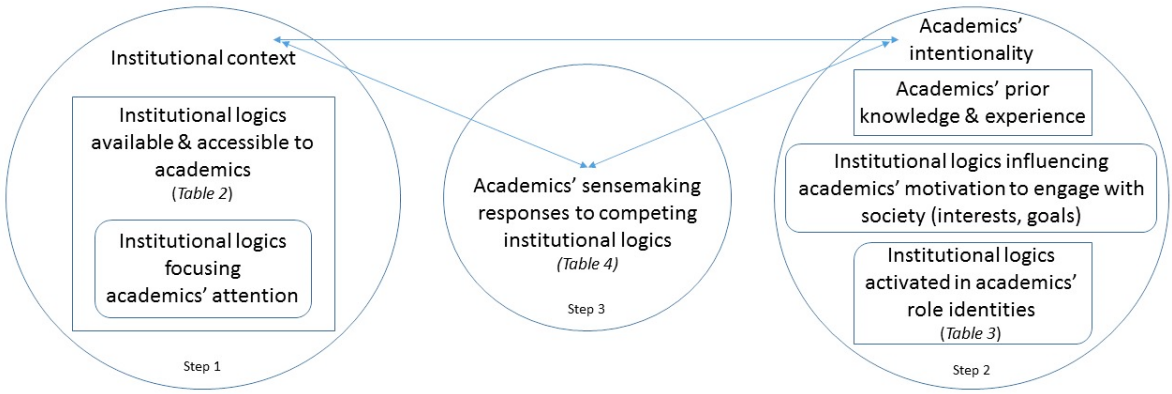

Figure 4. Academics' sensemaking of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective.

5.1 Case Description

Individual sensemaking and identities are neither purely localized from the theoretical perspective nor confined within the limits of the tangible case. Academics enter into bureaucratic structures, professional networks, hierarchical and informal relations on various levels of society and across the borders. Accordingly, new institutional logics diffuse in the field of higher education via manifold channels. Global isomorphic pressures may irradiate from celebrity professionals and top-tier schools (Cai & Zheng, 2016; Perkmann et al., 2011). These pressures may or may not accord with state policies and power balance in the institutional field. Furthermore, the dynamics of interests and values inside the university and its adaptive capacity may vary from case to case. Since the global and national trends were referred to in *Chapters 1* and *4*, this section looks in more detail into the specifics of the organizational climate (*Figure 4*, *Chapter 2.3.4* and above, *Step 1*).

5.1.1 University profile

The *University of Tampere* (*Tampereen yliopisto*, UTA) is a Finnish public, non-profit, highly selective and research-oriented higher education institution. From the very beginning, it had a clear mission of serving the society. UTA originated in 1925 in Helsinki as a *Civic College* (*Kansalaiskorkeakoulu*) providing education to untapped sectors of the population, particularly to young people from rural areas. In 1930, its name was changed to the *Higher School of Social Sciences* (*Yhteiskunnallinen korkeakoulu*). The college was earning its reputation by offering quality programs in municipal administration, library science, journalism, popular education, and social care until the significant expansion of higher education in the 1960s. Then, it was relocated to Tampere to help counter the brain drain and prevent the decline of Tampere Region amid a rapid growth of Greater Helsinki and other metropolitan centers.

In Tampere, the institution was given the legal status of a university (1966) and began to evolve into a multidisciplinary, multi-faculty organization. Already prior to the relocation, the school embarked upon research in social sciences, establishing a research institute in 1945 and awarding the first doctoral degree in 1955 (Tampereen yliopisto, n.d.). UTA was nationalized together with other Finnish universities in the 1970s. Nowadays, the University of Tampere aspires to the status of the "frontrunner in the social sciences in Finland" (University of Tampere [UTA], 2016b, p. 3). It supplies circa 25% of social science education in Finland, and more than 70% of its master's degrees are awarded in nonscience fields (Sotarauta, 2016). Abiding by the recent governmental call for profiling (Academy of Finland, 2016), UTA emphasizes its research expertise in the society, health, and welfare (UTA, 2016i).

The university is governed by a Collegiate Body of 45 elected members and their deputies representing professors (1), other faculty members and university personnel (2), and students (3), in equal proportion. The highest strategic and executive body is the Board composed of 11 members: six from UTA, following the same pattern of distribution, and five from outside the university, including the Chair for 2013-2016 (UTA, 2014a). External Board members are selected by the Collegiate Body in accordance with the Universities Act 558/2009 stipulating that their knowledge and professional experience must correspond to the disciplinary profile (MEC, 2009b, section 15.4). At the time of the study, UTA's Board could boast experts in technology and innovation, labor and healthcare, social welfare and the third sector. They sat on various public and private boards, committees, and councils, held key positions in government institutes and funding agencies, were members of specialized associations and networks, and were involved with many expert groups and projects, both locally and nationwide. Some of them might also feel a personal attachment to UTA as alumni (UTA, 2015b).

General management of the university is executed by the Rector, Vice Rectors, and the University Services, and supported by Research and Teaching Councils. Its organizational structure as of 2016 (UTA, 2016f) was a result of an administrative overhaul that was induced by state-run reforms in university governance and science policy and took place mainly between 2010 and 2012. It was targeted at streamlining, flexibility of structures and services, efficiency of operations and budgeting, enhancement of managerial steering and communication, and promotion of interdisciplinarity in teaching and research. Previous multi-tier and loosely coupled bureaucratic system of numerous administrative and academic units gave way to a system of centralized administrative services, nine discipline-based schools, and four independent institutes. Along the line, former autonomous divisions headed by elected academics in part-time administrative positions were gradually transformed into performance

units directed by appointed Deans as full-time managers. In parallel to the university Board, school boards appointed external members. Simultaneously, the university reformed its degree programs and doctoral training.

The schools offered more than 60 Finnish- and English-language degree programs and opportunities for lifelong learning in information sciences; management; education; communications, media and theater; languages, translation and literary studies; social sciences and humanities; medicine; biomedical technology; and health sciences. (UTA, 2016c). They were also home to dozens of multidisciplinary research centers and groups, as well as several national Centers of Excellence in Research funded by the Academy of Finland; their projects were often implemented in cooperation with strategic and academic partners from Tampere and the Region, Finland, and abroad (UTA, 2016g & 2016j).

The strengthening of the university's international profile and domestic impact have been among UTA's top priorities in recent years (UTA, 2014c). In 2016, it was featured in the 251-300 band in the Times Higher Education rankings and came in 501st in the QS World University Rankings. In QS Rankings by subject, UTA's communication and media programs were ranked 51st, politics – 101st, while its social sciences and management disciplines were placed as 298th, and arts and humanities as 311st in QS Faculty Ranking (UTA, n.d.a). The university invests effort in networking in Europe and beyond, in mobility and degree programs, and in education export, principally to Africa, China and Southeast Asia (UTA, 2016k). *Finland University*, a joint initiative between the University of Tampere, the University of Turku, and the University of Eastern Finland, is another means of reaching out to public and private sector actors in the national market and to transnational partners, especially in developing countries. It offers research-based, tailored professional development services and capacity building projects. Besides that, UTA encourages student-related partnerships in form of commissioned projects and theses. The most celebrated of these collaborative schemes is *Demola* (http://tampere.demola.net) – an open innovation platform that connects students from the three regional universities, as part of their degree programs, with private and public actors in want of some products or services.

In 2015, UTA awarded over 3,000 degrees, and a total of 21,503 students were enrolled in the university, with 14,430 degree students and 1,047 international students. It employed just under 2,000 people, out of which professors and research directors comprised 10%; other teaching and research personnel – 49%; teaching and research support personnel – 14%; and administration – 20%. UTA's core funding received directly from the state budget amounted to 115 million euro (64%), whereas 65 million euro (36%) was received from other revenue streams, including competitive research funding by ministerial agencies (UTA, 2016e).

Research work is also financially supported through the University of Tampere Foundation, a non-profit establishment that facilitates fundraising and donations from individuals and legal entities and distributes the money in form of grants and financial aid (UTA, 2013). In addition, UTA's Research Services are designed to assist the researchers with fundraising, contract and project management, and proprietary rights. At the same time, independent institutes (Laboratory Services, Language Centre, Library, and the Finnish Social Science Data Archive) and centers (e.g., the Centre for Applied Statistics and Data Analytics) lend infrastructural and service support to UTA's research and teaching activities in the core areas. Finally, UTA's leading position in social sciences in Finland is reinforced by the Institute for Advanced Social Research. The Institute provides facilities and awards fixed-term fellowships to scholars from

the university and from abroad, creating an environment that fosters multidisciplinarity and internationality of research.

In the course of the structural reform, the university established a centralized Doctoral School that operates under the Research Council and coordinates all doctoral training delivered in its academic units. The School closely follows global modernization trends in the field of postgraduate education. Among other things, it promotes researchers' online profiles, personal branding, and communication of knowledge to popular audience, which should increase the university's digital visibility and social impact in general. The School is also invested in employability of its graduates. In March 2016, the University of Tampere, in collaboration with four other Finnish universities, launched a countrywide project aimed at diversifying doctoral students' competences and skills and opening up their career prospects outside the academia. To increase the relevance of doctoral programs for working life, it seeks cooperation with employers and other external actors (UTA, 2016d).

UTA adheres to a culture that values sustainable development, responsibility to the community and the ecosystem, social justice and equality, transparency and fairness, academic freedom and free circulation of knowledge. For one thing, it became the first Fairtrade university in Finland. For another thing, it demonstrates a commitment to Open Science and Research by instigating self-archiving and Open Access publishing among its staff (UTA, 2016h). The university maintains a free repository of dissertations, electronic publications, serials, and self-archived articles. Moreover, it commenced a reorganization of Tampere University Press into a peer-reviewed electronic Open Access publisher that would discontinue printing hard copies. These practices satisfy the requirements of key sponsors in the EU and at home and add to UTA's international image and research impact. At the same time, they run counter to the traditional market logics, as they offer an alternative to the commercial mode of publishing.

Last but not least, the University of Tampere strives to augment its impact and improve in rankings by dint of a merger with Tampere University of Technology and Tampere University of Applied Sciences (http://www.tampere3.fi/en). The new higher education institution called *Tampere3* is expected to get underway on the 1st of January, 2019. Conceived as a major driver for growth in the region, it is developed in dialogue with the Ministry of Education and Culture and the City of Tampere. It is anticipated that Tampere3 will become a unique, globally attractive hub for interdisciplinary research and learning, bridge the gap between academic studies, modern scholarship and the labor market, have a positive effect on the application of knowledge and commercialization of innovations, and benefit the provision of public services. Pooling the resources should also secure the viability of the universities against the adverse economic situation and cutbacks to governmental expenditures in the sector. Unlike the University of Tampere that is registered as a public corporation operating under public law (UTA, 2010), the new institution is projected to be foundation-based and subject to private law. In consequence of such a merger, it is reasonable to expect a perceptible strengthening of corporation and market logics inside the institution.

In summary, society has a presence in the university's core values, historic and contemporary profile, governance, relationships, and directions for the development. However, despite the managerial and structural reform, UTA remains a loosely coupled organization, with some essential dissimilarities between the divisions. For instance, the School of Management has a post of Research Director responsible for coordinating all research activities, and *Synergos* (http://www.uta.fi/jkk/synergos/index.html) – a market-based unit that provides tailored research and education services to private and public customers. Such praxes have not been

observed, for example, in the School of Social Sciences and Humanities. Apart from the situation in their division, academics might be affected by the ethos of their research groups and by their interaction with other peers. Many have preserved former disciplinary and departmental identities and connections, as the time needed for psychological and cultural adjustment has obviously exceeded the duration of the reform. As a final comment, the institutional profile presented in this subsection is valid only for the period of the case study. The University of Tampere is a vibrant fast-changing organization, and many snapshots of its realities become quickly out of date.

5.1.2 Strategic commitment to societal engagement

On the strategic level, the University of Tampere follows the national policy discourse in paying homage to societal engagement without particular concretization. In keeping with the Universities Act 558/2009, the university counts service to the society among its core functions together with research and teaching (UTA, 2010). Moreover, it "emphasizes the close connection between teaching and research, and the social impact of its activities" (UTA, 2016b, p. 5). The wording is a little ambiguous because it is not clear if the impact is as closely connected to teaching and research as they are connected to each other, but earlier public statements and internal quality management system demonstrate that societal impact had been perceived as a product of knowledge creation combined with research-based education long before the adoption of the latest strategy (UTA, 2014c & 2014d). It is worth remarking that this wording also allows to assimilate the notion of societal impact to the traditional outputs of teaching and research, like graduates and publications.

UTA's strategic understanding of its educational mission also presupposes a large societal impact. It does not make use of the notion of *service* (to the country and the humanity; MEC, 2009b, section 2.1), which can be associated with maintaining the existing order. Instead, it ascribes an active role to its students and alumni who will not simply *serve* the society, but will "change the world" and "shape the future" (UTA, 2016b, p. 5). It is possible that this choice of vocabulary reflects another shift in logics, with the logics of citizenship as service to the nation state being replaced with the logics of citizenship as active participation – perhaps, under the influence of the institutional order of community. Other elements in the vocabulary belong to the Humboldtian version of the academic profession: teaching should be based on cutting edge knowledge, involve learners in research work, and develop critical thinking.

UTA's principal aspiration in the next few years is to become an international research university while maintaining the status of the leader in social sciences in Finland, which may generate tensions between global and regional goals. With respect to research, the university abides by the logics of the academic profession that promote independent and open scientific pursuit. Yet, is leaves the society a loophole of influencing the university through phenomenon-driven research by specifying that, "While new knowledge is founded on independent research and the free exchange of ideas and cooperation, it is also based on the will to solve problems and pursue new opportunities. Consequently, research and education are not defined by science alone, but also by reality as it is experienced" (UTA, 2016b, p. 5).

Any mentioning of exploitation, productization and commercialization of research results that appeared in the draft strategy (UTA, 2015c, p. 4) is absent from the final version, and the action plan expressly ascribes "the application and commercialization know-how" to the Tampere University of Applied Sciences (UTA, 2016a, p. 2). The aim of finding "concrete ways to utilize and popularize research results in a better way" (UTA, 2015a, p. 3) did not make it to

the accepted action plan either. Ideas stemming from the market logics might have encountered academics' rejection during discussion rounds, as has been the case with individual performance indicators and salary incentives associated with corporation logics – these have been met with resistance time and again (university administrators, personal communication, February 9-11, 2016).

The sense of community seems to be very strong in UTA's academics, and people worry that it can be undermined by neoliberal reward and remuneration policies. Naturally, considerations of academic freedom and the complexity of academic work that cannot be reduced to numbers also come to the fore in such discussions. Faculty members report on research, teaching, and third mission activities like consulting or expert tasks, but the latter is optional, and the gathered data can be incomplete and unsystematized. Accordingly, so far, corporate logics of performance measurement and management have been circulating only on the level of units – schools, study and research programs, etc., – but not individuals. Democratic decision-making and equality of all members of the university community are written down in the strategy (UTA, 2016b, p. 15), probably testifying to the faculty's discontent with corporate hierarchy and centralization that, to an extent, undermined traditional collegiality.

Trying to avoid any strict definition of *impact*, the strategy gives a very broad record of stakeholders in cooperation, covering all conceivable levels and sectors of society, and the action plan promises to intensify this collaboration. Both pay considerable attention to the reverse impact of the society on the academia. Firstly, by stressing phenomenon-based research that targets real problems and captures fresh opportunities; and secondly, by linking the quality of teaching to changes in the society and working life. Again, there was a modification in wording in comparison to the draft strategy: a more neutral "working life" persisted in contrast to the term "labor market" that was dropped (UTA, 2015c, pp. 3-4). Although the final phrasing preserves the national target of increasing the relevance of higher education for the economy, it is not so straightforward and alien to the native academic discourse. Besides, the word *life* sounds more organic and human than the impersonal *market* and leaves room for a more flexible interpretation surpassing the boundaries of that institutional order. The action plan, in the same vein, talks not about "employers" but, generally, about societal "actors" that should be consulted on desirable skills and involved into curriculum design (UTA, 2016a, p. 4).

Given the dependence of Finnish HEIs on state policies and public finances, it is not surprising to discover no intent of incorporating societal engagement into UTA's internal funding model. It is a duty of teaching and research staff to participate in the interaction with the surrounding society (UTA, 2012), but there exist no incentives for it. Specifically, it is not included into the evaluation criteria for academic career advancement in HR strategies and is not mentioned among the activities to be encouraged and rewarded in the action plan, unlike research, instruction, academic leadership, and administrative services.

The action plan announces that UTA will "increase the impact of science on society through active interaction, expert work and timely communications" (UTA, 2016a, p. 3), and this vague declaration remains the most articulated expression of strategic steering to step up societal contribution. A recently launched university-level program *New Social Research* (NSR) (http://www.uta.fi/nsr) could grow to be a good illustration of strategic development in action. It is meant to revolutionize the society-research interface by creating a transdisciplinary network of scholars, focusing on the most pressing themes, and getting external stakeholders (citizens, organizations, firms, etc.) involved in the research process. NSR is projected to

bolster the validity and relevance of research results, effectuate their dissemination and impact, and combine global connectivity with local expertise, but the program is in its infancy.

References to the university's social mission are scattered around some policy documents in a way that shows that UTA does not obstruct individual engagement work. For example, it looks positively on relevant secondary occupations and nondegree teaching, and assists with dissemination and popularization of research results (UTA, 2014b). Nonetheless, the pressure, incentives and rewards for societal engagement come mostly from outside the university, namely, from various European and national research funding agencies and foundations (UTA n.d.b). It could be concluded that the university's strategic commitment to the cause is remarkably low, but then, it gives its academics freedom to engage with the society as they see fit.

5.1.3 The practice of societal engagement

A survey of UTA's faculty members carried out at the end of 2012 revealed that engagement activities were taking place on the grassroots level and were mostly a prerogative of individual academics, with 71% of participants reporting being substantially involved into external collaboration, and just 6% disaffirming it (Sotarauta, 2016, p. 123). While doing so, only one third of respondents (34.4%) felt actively encouraged and supported by the university to build and maintain collaborative relationships, whereas the majority derived inspiration from colleagues (68%), personal values and motivations (65%), and their academic unit (53.5%) (Sotarauta, 2016, p. 123). Over the three years preceding the survey, almost half of the academics (47%) experienced intensification of collaborative activities, compared to as little as 13% who reported some decline (Sotarauta, 2016, p. 124).

Table 5

The main groups of collaboration, and their geographical nature according to the UTA survey, % of all responses (n = 195)

	Local/ regional (%)	National (%)	International (%)
Private company, less than 250 employees	15.9	15.4	8.2
Private company, more than 250 employees	8.2	12.3	13.3
Other university	15.4	62.1	65.1
Other educational institution	13.3	22.6	11.8
Research institute (public)	6.2	34.9	20.5
Research institute (private)	2.6	7.7	5.1
Government/public sector	15.9	37.9	12.3
Charity	2.1	4.6	3.6
Other non-profit	1.5	11.3	6.7
Policy institute/think tank	2.1	8.7	5.1

Note. Reprinted from Sotarauta, 2016, p. 124.

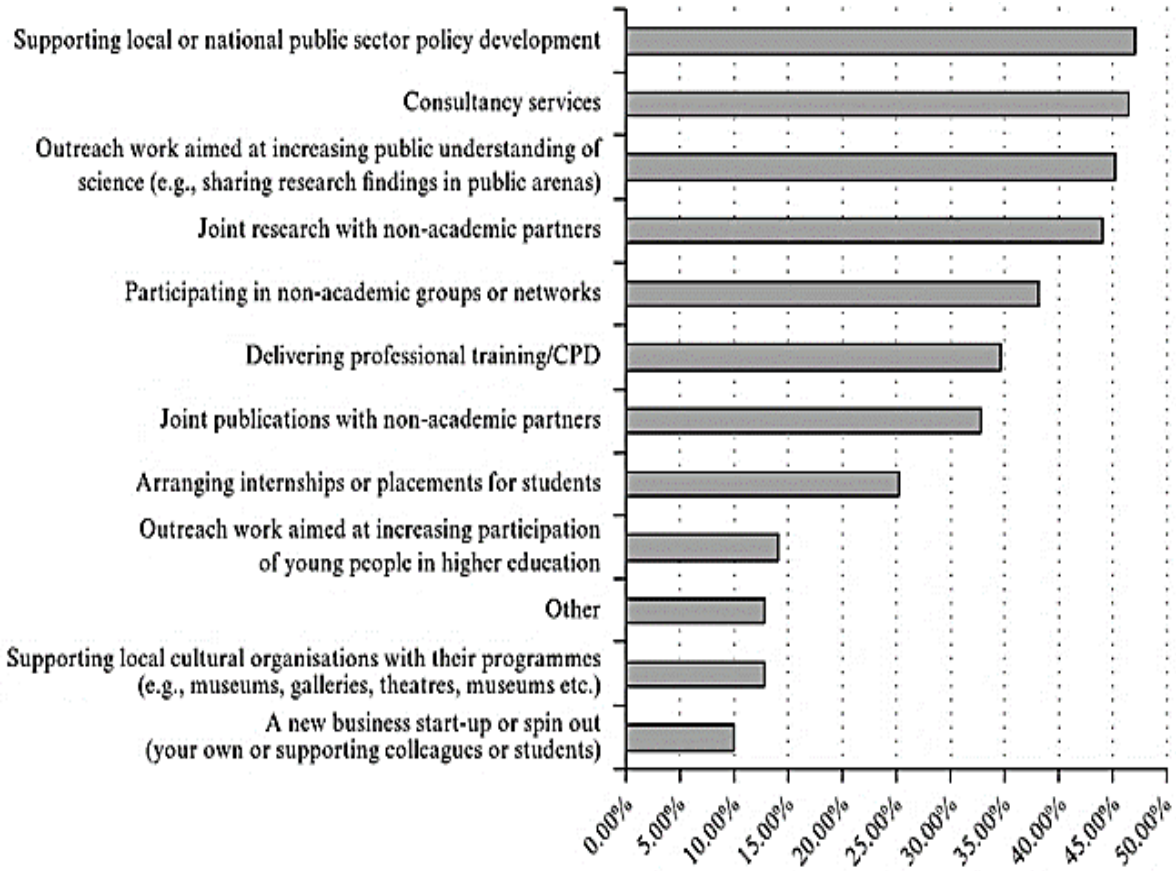

Figure 9. The main collaborative activities according to the *UTA survey* (*n* = 170). Reprinted from Sotarauta, 2016, p. 125.

As shown in *Table 5* and *Figure 9*, engagement mainly occurred in the public sector. Supporting local or national public sector policy development was the most popular type of activity (47%), followed by consultancy services (46%) and dissemination of research results, e.g., through mass media (45%), as opposed to dealing with business start-ups and spin-outs (10%). The most common partners in societal interaction were other universities, educational institutions, research institutes, government and public sector organizations. Collaboration with small private companies was more frequent on the local/regional and national levels, and vice versa, bigger private companies were more often found among international stakeholders.

In 2014, the University of Tampere completed a *Research Assessment Exercise* (RAE) – an international external evaluation of the quality and impact of its research over the years 2008-2013 (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015). The purpose of the exercise was to determine the university's areas of strength and potential as measured against international benchmarks, and to inform UTA's strategic and structural development on its way to becoming a world-class research university. Drawing on the *British Research Excellence Framework* (http://www.ref.ac.uk) as a model, the evaluators, among other things, examined case studies of societal impact conducted by the units of assessment; the scope of evaluation was confined to research and doctoral education. To date, RAE procedural guidelines and the final report give, perhaps, the most comprehensive account of the "corporate" understanding of societal impact of reseach and of the extent of engagement activities in the university.

Overall, the societal impact was estimated as very good or excellent in most academic fields, whilst history, communication and media studies, and social work were even found to have made an outstanding impact internationally. The majority of criteria used for grading (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, Appendix 1, pp. 6-7) were undoubtedly based on the logics of the market: a) societal and geographical relevance; b) visibility; c) competitive non-academic funding; and d) employability of graduated doctors outside the academia. All these measures point towards demand, accountability, branding, and profit efficiency. It was admitted though that individual actors and groups might have a discrepant perception of the societal relevance of research, or have little regard to this dimension of the academic work.

Indeed, there was evidence that some units of assessment attached considerable importance to the societal relevance of their research and passed this attitude on to their doctoral students (see, e.g., Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, p. 157). Other units, on the contrary, struggled to lay down a precise definition and measures of social impact, identify their potential, connect with target groups, trace the impacts to research activities, or detect the societal benefits accompanying these impacts (see, e.g., Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, pp. 47, 96, & 165).

In terms of the span of collaboration, the cases submitted by research groups and programs conformed to the results of the earlier survey (Sotarauta, 2016). UTA's academics were successful in attracting external research funding, contributed to public debate on top economic and social challenges, and formed sustainable links with outside partners. The faculty were highly sought as experts and consultants in all fields, participated in local and international networks, served on boards of non-governmental organizations and private companies, and cooperated with ministerial working groups, government agencies, and the City of Tampere on producing good data and policy development. The university's PhD alumni were mostly employed in the academe, but also in some high-ranked professional positions elsewhere, including private sector payroll jobs, management posts and directorships in national insitutes and NGOs, and a start-up in the creative sector. Scholars also did well in making research accessible to wider public and popularising science, as well as in community outreach projects, especially in health and education.

Societal engagement is not without difficulties. In several cases, it was ascertained that extensive interactions exhibited by the units were not based on quality latter-day research (e.g., Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, pp. 47 & 51), or that increased media presence and coverage could be of much avail to making a better impact (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, p. 68). Evaluators sometimes felt that the opinions of the external partners were missing from case studies, and therefore, it was impossible to take heed of their perceptions of the collaboration and knowledge exchange with the university (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, p. 165). Some self-assessments lacked a longituinal perspective on the impact of research programs (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, p. 68).

There was, apparently, a major divide on the real-world applicability of fundamental and speculative research, with a latent sentiment that its societal relevance was "less urgent" (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, p. 148) – that is, prompting for it was, by its very nature, untenable. Emphasizing the distinction between the two kinds of research, basic and applied, could be a means of rejecting non-academic logics or compartmentalizing them from the traditional logics of the academic profession. It should come as no surprise that talks on the translation of knowledge into products and innovative solutions along with commercialization projects were characteristic of more applied biomedical research (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, pp. 63 & 68). The report even mentions a case of launching a biological data analysis company (Hakala &

Roihuvuo, 2015, p. 63), but, by and large, it gives an impression that the most widespread practice of attracting revenues in this research area was patenting. Patents, however, may not be directly associated with societal impact; they are simply a link in a chain of collaboration with industry and establishing new business ventures, which benefit the society as surely as they benefit the owners of the enterprise.

One of the salient concerns expressed in the RAE report is the risk that societal engagement could negatively influence research productivity, especially in practically-oriented units (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, p. 40). Domestic consultancy, policy advice, and data services may distract academics from pursuing more fundamental studies and publishing in international highly-ranked journals, and there was also fear that academic units might eventually evolve into "service units" (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, p. 105). In such instances, it was recommended to manage the balance between research and engagement activities with greater care (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015, p. 42), but there was also an understanding that the ambition of making the best of both worlds could be very elusive.

In short, UTA has a very good record of a thriving and multiform engagement with the society on the grassroots level, in particular in the public sector. For all that, there is a growing awareness of both a need to enhance the service to the society and its antagonism with the objectives of research excellence. Resistance to the market logics, seemingly, underlies the internal debate on basic vs. applied research and on the commercialization of social science, and there is a certain disparity between the "corporate" notion of societal impact, likewise fashioned by the market, and that of the academics. Thus, the need to explore the genuine perceptions of the academics becomes even more compelling.

5.2 Institutional Context

In attempts to answer the first research sub-question of the study, "*What are the institutional logics shaping academics' perceptions of societal engagement*?", and in line with the mechanism of macro-to-micro translation of institutional logics outlined in *Figure 3* (*Chapter 2.2.2*), this section firstly describes the logics available to academics in their everyday practice. Then, by analyzing which logics appear as the most salient in the institutional context and are frequently accessed by academics, it explores how the logics focus academics' attention on specific cognitive issues and behaviors (*Chapter 2.3.4*, *Figure 4, Step 1*).

5.2.1 Availability of institutional logics to academics

Academics as social actors are exposed to the influences of the institutional logics of multiple institutional orders. While research literature mostly analyses tensions between *two* sets of logics – those of the academic profession and the market (often referred to as commercial logics, or industry and business logics; Berman, 2012; Colyvas, 2007; Fini & Lacetera, 2010; Murray, 2010; Perkmann & Phillips, 2011; Upton & Warshaw, 2017), or the logics of the academic profession and corporation (Townley, 1998; Blaschke, Frost, & Hattke, 2014; Canhilal et al., 2015; Mampaey & Huisman, 2016), or state and corporation logics (Bastedo, 2009), – this study tries to account for the logics of *five* orders: *state*, *market*, *corporation*, *community*, and *profession*. The interviews demonstrate that all these logics are available to the academics working in social sciences, some to a larger and some to a lesser degree, and they all can be accessed on different levels, both in the institutional field of higher education and on a more general societal level.

State logics

After the Finnish state granted autonomy to the universities and academics ceased to be civil servants, the logics of *citizenship* as a basis of norms and *increasing public good* as the basic strategy continued to be salient in the scholars' expressions of intentionality and sensemaking of societal engagement. These were often framed as expressions of one's duty to the country and humanity: "It is also about my personal values, it is a way to contribute to the development of [a region outside Finland]" (A); "A very important thing is that I'm a very local patriot … I want to see [the city] flourishing … And the same, of course, nationally … I'm all the time thinking that Finland is not in a nice situation at the moment, so, what should we do to get it on a better track again?" (C); "Universities are run by the state, we have to give something back, there is that give-and-take there to everyone, not only for social scientists" (G); "That's something that I do, as I said, as a way to pay back the Finnish society for the free, or tuition-less education that I've received" (I); "I would like to do something useful for the Finnish society" (K). With that, the state as an institution could be perceived quite critically because of its role in channeling the market logics to HEIs, cutting down funding and prioritizing policies that put societal engagement in social sciences at a disadvantage vis-à-vis STE disciplines and research excellence.

Market logics

The interviews reveal that market logics have penetrated a public university and the field of social sciences down to the micro level. This was evident in the discourse and narratives of the academics. In the former case, it surfaced in the application of such terms as *stakeholders*, *services*, *employability*, *pains and gains*, or *brand* to academic work. As regards the narratives, market logics stood behind *likening public research units to companies*, *seeking revenues* from the export of educational services, *sharing profit efficiency* concerns and stories of *academic self-branding*. Seven participants (64%) were also engaged as higher education analysts, thus acting as part of the informal control mechanism in this market, and two (18%) had their own companies outside the university selling educational and research services.

Comparisons between research units and enterprises might give some interesting examples of translating the notions from the market discourse into the habitual professional terms, such as the analogy between *customers* and *audiences* in the following quotation:

> [The unit] is like a company, somehow acting like a company … We have to find money ..., we have … customers or different audiences … It's just, it's pretty much the same like a … small or medium-size company … Everything is public, all the matter we are selling …, but … you can have some parallel. (B)

Another participant (D) voiced the goal of *increasing the profits* from educational export in the context of a fierce competition between HEIs in international markets. Export activities started as a *business* were preferred to those built on personal relationship and academic networking, since they were more likely to generate profits than the export initiated under the influence of *community* logics of trust, reputation, personal investment, common values, and emotional connection.

Pursuing *self-interest* and *efficiency* could be observed even in the fundamental mission of writing academic articles, albeit very rarely. For example, for academic H, chances that research resulting from engagement projects outside the official university workload would be

publicized in scholarly journals were slim, unless such publications were funded additionally or under the same project.

Self-branding was mostly encountered as told in the second or the third person: "You have to be in certain places and be visible in order to somehow promote your own agenda, research agenda" (D); "One says that the more you are in the media, the more people know about your research, and it's a way of branding yourself, turning yourself into research brand. I'm not in that business myself necessarily, don't want to necessarily do that" (G). However, awareness of the pressure and first-hand accounts of media and social media engagement both testified to the pervasiveness of this logic.

At the same time, when confronted with a straightforward question about *commercialization* in social sciences, academics would, as a rule, oppose it or try to draw the line at it: "Commercialization does not belong to basic research" (E); "If we are talking about social sciences and humanities, this commercialization, it's not our thing … Our stakeholders are something different than market" (F); "Publishing should be maximum free … This open access…, it will gradually destroy this old system, commercial, I hope so" (B). Demarcation was normally established along disciplinary and organizational lines. Interviewees believed that it was possible to commercialize research and teaching in social sciences, for instance, through delivering services or launching companies, but not as much as in STE disciplines (B; J). Moreover, if a faculty member, in principle, appreciated commercialization of research, doubts could be raised about UTA's potential in this sense and the number of business ideas coming out of the university (I; J). Best practices of converting knowledge and skills into a service or product appeared to be found *outside* UTA's walls, in alumni circles (B; I).

Corporation logics

For corporation logics, it mattered whether the participants occupied leadership positions in the university or not. Those not involved in the management of academic or administrative units demonstrated a considerable detachment from *corporate hierarchies* and indicated displeasure with *corporate policies*: "It was a different faculty before, and then they named it School of [name of the school], and yes we are a bit okay, whatever, there's not much that we can do about it" (H); "[Doing] smaller projects with different kinds of clients, that is not anymore possible with the university because they take such high administrative fees … You have a megaproject…, [or] you have nothing, and I find it just absurd" (H); "If they add this clause [that stipulates that all intellectual property created by university staff belongs to the university], I will have to reconsider my employment in this university, or in the Finnish university sector" (I); "So it's [university overheads] like more than doubling my costs for that, so, actually, I'm paying for the university" (J).

Academic leaders can, in their turn, be categorized into heads of research and/or teaching units and members of administrative units. The former could be very opposed to corporate logics and perceive them as antagonistic to the academic profession:

> When they got autonomy, they [the universities and their leaders] started to build up a more regulative environment for academic work. Creating extremely hierarchical universities and leaving less and less room for innovation at the level of academic work. Everything is much more tightly regulated nowadays than the case used to be as government universities. (A)

Informants in administrative roles, naturally, identified themselves with *the university as organization* and its *managerial culture* more strongly. In one instance, the duty of increasing *personal research productivity* in a strategically research-oriented university was perceived as an *ethical* choice (K). In another instance, UTA's *corporate branding* was a pivotal issue for the academic, who was otherwise reluctant to promote oneself: "I think it should be obligatory for each researcher to do that [maintain digital visibility]. Because that adds … [to] the brand of the university cause they [researchers] are part of the brand" (G).

Finally, *employment* in the university was associated with *productivity* by faculty members and academic leaders alike. Discussion of certain *outputs* (articles in higher-level journals ranked by *Publication Forum*, a Finnish classification for academic publications [Publication Forum, 2016], raising funds for projects, etc.) was an ordinary matter in narratives about promotion and contract renewal.

Community logics

This set of logics typically emerged in talks about *academic communities*, *networks*, and *cooperative entrepreneurship*. Thus, united by *common* disciplinary and project *boundaries*, *values*, *ideology*, and *emotional connection*, members of discontinued departments would keep working together even in the absence of administrative structures, or create new structures like research groups and seminars to communicate with each other on a regular basis.

Interaction with likeminded people outside the university was equally important. The following quotation gives a fine expression to the logics of the *unity of will*, *commitment to community values*, *emotional connection*, and *personal investment* in the group:

> There are lots of people in Tampere who are very passionate about the city and want to see it developing all the time … We recognize each other, and we are kind of a circle that has been collaborating [for a] long, long-long time … So, that's a kind of, you know, the glue between us … And we know that we are working for the city, not only for our personal gains, but also that we … want to see the city flourishing. (C)

Having a sense of community and sharing the same vision also stood out in an account of academic cooperative entrepreneurship, let alone that the functioning of the business was organized on the principles of *cooperative capitalism*.

Profession logics

The interviewees offered plenty of incidents of professional logics in their statements, which are here limited to only a few examples. The logic of *academic freedom* in choosing what research to undertake, how to teach, or with whom to engage depending on one's interests was brought up as an advantage of the profession (A; B; D; E). An initiative to correct erroneous information published in the media (B) and the imperative to develop critical thinking in students (I) must have been incited by the logics of *personal academic expertise* and *objectivity* of knowledge. Individual *expertise*, *reputation*, and *quality of academic work* were constantly mentioned as drivers for various decisions and practices and were praised as more rewarding than making money – for instance, avoiding to give "ready-made answers", and asking difficult questions instead (D), or getting a good book published and increasing personal academic reputation despite failing to receive funding for the project (F). Lastly, the logic of looking up

to *peers* and *celebrity academics* (F; J) for norms, inspiration, and role models was highlighted in several conversations.

5.2.2 Institutional logics focusing academics' attention

From the institutional logics perspective, dominant logics direct the attention of individuals to particular features of their environment and make available a whole repertoire of cognitive and behavioral patterns, including solutions to emerging problems (Thornton et al., 2012). In routine situations, the logics that are more accessible activate *automatic* focus and patterns. The focus can be shifted to *diverging* logics when the situation changes, the usual repertoire becomes inapplicable, and external logics push the limits of attention. In the interviews, three features of the contemporary academic environment came through as the most salient: *competition for funding*, *research productivity*, and *media visibility*. The first is associated with the order of the market, the second is an instantiation of corporation logics in the higher education field, and the third is related to both orders.

Competition for funding

Competition for funding is not an entirely unfamiliar situation for Finnish academics, but it has been particularly prominent in re-focusing their attention after the 2008 global financial crisis and the reform of university governance in 2009-2010. Besides, raising supplementary funds for basic research in social sciences has been more challenging than in STE research and business. As the basic funding received from the state no longer covered all expenses, and it was impossible to continue on the previous course of doing academic work, the actors opted for the solutions suggested by alternative logics. For example, running a research group or an individual project was translated into an enterprise. At the same time, looking for funding and diversifying it became part of the academic profession and qualification requirements in the corporate university (UTA, 2012). Since the funder inevitably influences the choice of the problem and other aspects of research, whilst social scientists adhere to the logic of academic freedom, they tend to adjust their fundraising strategy so as to match personal interests with available programs [B; D; G; J]:

> We live in interesting times in Finland because the Academy of Finland and the Ministry of Education, also the ways in which they fund us, this sort of societal engagement is one of the measures … [of] the output of universities – how are we perceived, how active are we in this respect? So, it turns into money on the university level … But, personally, I think, research comes first. It just happened because … the topic is very urgent and current, and then the funding, because the funding stipulated us that, that you need to do this, it has just taken us that way. (G)

Furthermore, researchers seek financial sustainability by shifting their focus from one professional role to another. Seeing that teaching positions are less dependent on external funding, and educational export "might provide something to help the "pain" [of financial challenges]", research units start offering academic courses (A; J) and trade their educational know-how (D; J).

If the rationalities of state agencies and UTA's financial management are perceived by the academics to be very much at odds with their goals and pragmatics, they may drive faculty members away from the university. Here, teaching and research were accessed through the market logics of shareholder activism and increasing efficiency:

> It's, first of all, really expensive, and it's really difficult to arrange a small hour-to-one-day education in a way that university will be billing… If it's really small, the financial [roll] of the university is so heavy, basically, it's really expensive to operate through that … Own company, own enterprise is one way to make that happen in a quite simple way … I wasn't one of the first employees, but recently bought a part of it. (D)

> I don't know, this might be the last application for the Finnish Academy … I don't know if I will do it again … So many people work, and then only about six percent get the funding … It's starting to get so absurd, levels of work that never come to anything. I think that [own company] is a much more promising way to get the salary. (H)

The tightening competition was also referred to as competition in the academic job market:

> If I want to stay in Tampere, it's very difficult to find work in research or teaching… It's just part of the how the work life is changing that we must, to be able to continue some kind of research-related activities, invent something new. (H)

Under the influence of market and corporate logics, academic work was getting more and more transformed by the "project mode" of organization and short-term contracts (B), which contrasted with the state logic of permanent civil servants' positions. Making sense of the situation, some academics loosened their focus on the "traditional" career progression to tenured professorship and concentrated on maintaining a loop of projects. The move went hand in hand with a covert criticism of the old environment: "Those who have a permanent position at the university, I guess they are the slowest movers because they don't have a pressure to get external funding" (D). Note how the goal of matching academic interests with potential subsidizing sources is treated below as an "intellectual challenge" rather than an "existential threat" or a burden. For a researcher, labeling the funding task as "intellectual" is clearly a sign of internalization and normalization:

> I also think this project life when you must find funding for projects is not all bad … It's not necessarily good if I would have permanent funding to do whatever at the university, because when you create projects you also involve actors … We have all these ideas from research and we know that they could be used in practice, but to find someone who pays for these ideas and that these ideas are useful for them, it's an intellectual challenge ... It's all connected to the work world where you have no stable projects. (H)

Research productivity

For UTA, where, statistically, performance measurement and assessment is not done on the individual level, association between the logic of productivity and academic profession is not as pressing as in some other Finnish research universities. Nevertheless, due to the influence it exercises on the key research outputs and indicators of today in the higher education field in general, the attention of interviewees periodically focused on the number and rank of their scholarly publications. Publishing a certain number of articles in discipline-specific, top-ranked, and international peer-reviewed journals was voiced as a goal, no matter if the participant considered oneself as already satisfying these criteria or only aiming at them (C; D; E; F; I; K). Researchers made it clear that the goal was not set as much by researchers, as by the university's corporate logics and the rules of career progression in the sector. It was

decoupled from the professional logic of personal reputation associated with the quality of academic work, in contrast to publishing monographs (K) and edited books (F):

> I probably should publish more international peer-reviewed articles than I'm doing. But still, fortunately, our faculty is quite liberal in a sense that they are not asking me about it. But … I'm a little bit hesitant what might be when … my 5-year kind of tenure is evaluated … [At the beginning of academic career] I wasn't paying that much attention to publication, now I'm putting more, I think, so, it's slowly changing. (C)

> When I'm working here, I need publications that are published in public journals … Because quite often it is more important to just have the title, no one will read the papers. But when you think [about] your academic career, and if you want to apply [for] a position in [some disciplinary fields], you need to have publications which are published in those journals … The culture, and the structure, and the existing discourse within university, somehow, it teaches the new PhD students and new researchers to be of a certain kind. (D)

> I have done most of my work in Finnish … But I guess there's going to be a phase in near future that I'm going to write mainly in English, because I have to think also [about] my scientific career … If I would have to give an advice to a young researcher, I would say that, okay, if it's one advice, make international journal articles. (F)

The standard professional preference for high-quality research can also be driven by external logics, as it appears in one case from the School of Management. Responding to the 2014 research assessment exercise that uncovered a tension between research productivity and societal engagement (Hakala & Roihuvuo, 2015), the strategic research agenda for the School for 2015-2019 emphasized the need to take steps toward a closer connection between the two (university administrator, personal communication, February 10, 2016). This situation reoriented the attention of participant K who seemed to teeter between good research as a purely academic problem ("I", "you" in the sense of "one"), somehow detached from the third mission, and good research as a matter of corporate management ("we"):

> Nowadays, I try to concentrate more and more [on] research … Sometimes I still do things which are just interesting, even [if] I don't recognize scientific purposes … It's not just like this, that first you have research …Maybe we work like this more and more because we try first to do good quality research, and then we think about it from the perspective of society. (K)

Given the diversity and complexity of academic work (doing research and teaching, interacting with the society, networking and fundraising, reporting, leadership, and so on, and so forth), faculty members are bound to divert their attention from habitual preferences and consider, which actions would get them the most output with the least input.

Media visibility

Engagement with printed and digital media, social networks and blogs gained its importance when HEIs embarked in branding and marketing. Academics turned attention to their presence in the media scene when it became an element of corporate branding, and especially when it started to affect their professional contacts, communication, and competitiveness. For UTA and social sciences in Finland, this seems to be quite a recent development:

> Increasingly also the social media is something that is gaining ground also in research society. I'm in Twitter, and I have a blog, and I think that there are not too many of our researchers there, but there are some who are really active. And they are pushing their own agenda, own research results, and own happenings if they have a conference or some kind of a happening … The University of Tampere has a Twitter, but the School does not, and I think that this is something which will change, because increasingly many of this, I don't know what's the correct word …, maybe it's something, it's professionalism, or it's increasingly linked to your public presence ... This is something that we are learning. Some of us are already there, quite many are not, but I think that there's a pressure to be there, especially for those who are dependent on external funding. (D)

Interaction with the media opens up the academics to the impact of alien logics and poses all sorts of new questions – the value of media visibility, platforms to choose, time to spend on it at the expense of other activities, the extent of dependency on its influence, etc. Nevertheless, in a situation when traditional silos within social sciences are "melting down" (D), and more academics compete for funding and jobs in the same field, keeping an active media profile is viewed as a necessary part of career building, a tool of enhancing employability (D; F; G), and as a skill to be acquired already on the graduate level (G):

> If I'm not doing that, if I'm not tweeting, and I'm only publishing academic publications, maybe one Finnish article in *Aamulehti* or some other newspaper, I think, I might lose the battle … Because [a certain area of knowledge] is such a small area, you can't, it's really difficult to get funding for studying [it], you have to somehow enlarge your prospective ... And if you only want to be in your own silo, those people know you. But that doesn't help if all these, tens of … disciplines are fighting with the same money here. (D)

The three salient features of the academic environment described above – competition for funding, research productivity, and media visibility – bear a direct relation to *societal engagement*. Media visibility comes with external communication and facilitates a more efficient dissemination of ideas (D; H), as well as reaching new audiences and cooperation partners (H). Research productivity is confronted by societal engagement which "disturbs" (C) it by taking away academics' concentration from publishing activities. Lastly, competition for funding pertains to virtually any kind of societal engagement and is sometimes synonymous with it:

> I have been working my whole career in these small units which are very much interacting with practical actors like ministries and cities … I haven't got too much or, actually, any money from the university directly, but everything is coming from the projects which are funded by the cities or ministries, or some funding agencies. So, actually, my whole career has been part of this engagement. (J)

To sum up, the logics of all the *five* institutional orders featured in this research are available to and accessed by academics from social sciences. The interviews expose instances of the *state* logics of citizenship and increasing common good; the *market* logics of academia as an enterprise, revenue generation, profit efficiency, self-interest, and self-branding; the *corporation* logics of employment associated with hierarchy, productivity, and organizational branding; the *community* logics of shared boundaries, values, unity of will, emotional

connection, personal investment in group, and cooperative capitalism; and, naturally, the *profession* logics of academic freedom, objectivity, quality of work, personal expertise, reputation, and celebrity academics and peers as a "relational tribe". The logics of the academic profession and disciplinary logics underlie academics' opposition to the commercialization of research and teaching in social sciences and to the corporate policies in the university. Nevertheless, participants in leadership roles in administrative units access and adopt some corporation logics, like research productivity and corporate branding, as the logics of the organization they feel strongly affiliated with.

The market and corporation logics of *competitive funding*, *research productivity*, and *media visibility* appear as the most salient and frequently accessed logics in the institutional context of the case. They *focus the attention* of academics on matching their research interests to funding opportunities, teaching as a means of financial sustainability, competitiveness in the labor market, short-term contracts and project work, planned publishing, and strategic interaction with the media and social networks. Some of these tasks are internalized by participants who translate them into professional terms (fundraising as an intellectual challenge, customers as audiences, etc.), and some are decoupled as "xenogeneic" (e.g., publishing as a corporate and market requirement).

5.3 Academics' Intentionality

It follows from the preceding section that academics may access the same sets of logics yet arrive at antagonistic perceptions. Therefore, it is important to study the motivating factors that govern their decisions. This section presents an analysis of interview data with respect to academics' intentionality conveyed through their motivation and role identities. Thereby it addresses three research sub-questions of the study (*Chapter 1.3*): "*What institutional logics underlie academics' motivation to engage with the society?*"; "*What institutional logics influence academics' understanding of the impact of societal engagement on research and teaching?*"; and "*What are the institutional logics related to academics' role identities?*".

5.3.1 Institutional logics underlying academics' motivation to engage with the society

From the institutional logics perspective (*Chapter 2.2.3*), sensemaking accounts of societal engagement a) verbalize individual intentionality – identities and goals that are likewise embedded in institutional logics; and b) are connected to actors' prior knowledge and experience. Accordingly, this subsection a) examines the relationship between the logics and academics' interests and goals in engaging with the society, and b) deliberates how academics' previous knowledge and experience influence their choices of logics (*Chapter 2.3.4*, *Figure 4*, *Step 2*). In doing so, it partly answers the second research sub-question of the study, "*What institutional logics underlie academics' motivation to engage with the society?*" (*Chapter 1.3*).

Academics' interests and goals associated with institutional logics

Academics' interests and goals associated with state logics. This set of logics is accessed by the academics when they approach societal engagement *qua* Finnish and global citizens. Citizenship is the basis of norms in the order of the state; and the goal of contributing to the common good of the nation and the world in general is a moral imperative:

> I would like to do something useful for Finnish society, and I'm from Finland, and I feel that I should do … something for Finnish society, and if I could help Finnish society, I try to do my best. So, that's an ethical question, of course. (K)

Aspirations to critically affect matters as experts (E) and practitioners (J), do something which is relevant for the survival and sustainability of Finland (B), or popularize science and cultivate critical discussion in the Finnish language (G; H) are all instances of *national patriotism*. This imperative is so strong, that a research-oriented scholar (who would not take up a project that would only bring money but no academic outputs) would be ready to engage in an applied project without academic benefits, if it were adding a truly significant value to the Finnish society and to solving big societal issues (F). The goal of contributing to development (A; C; J) can be another case of national patriotism, but also a case of *local patriotism*, when it comes to municipal or regional level (B, C), or *global citizenship*, when development projects are run in developing countries. Motivation to *change the world* (C; H) pertains to the logic of global citizenship, too.

Academics' interests and goals associated with market logics. *Enhancement of graduate employability* (A; F; H) and *satisfaction of stakeholders' interests* (A; F; H) genuinely guide some of the academics' decisions, but the most salient market-driven goal is certainly that of *obtaining funding*. Reporting that goal, seemingly, made the participants feel somewhat uncomfortable, perchance, revealing the tension between the traditional academic identity and market logics:

> It's sometimes easier to get some funding if I'm engaged with these other third mission activities. Because I keep hearing about opportunities for funding … Mostly I'm not there for that, but it's just happened accidentally here and there. (C)

> Our jobs [are] … not permanent jobs … You need salary, and if you can think that there is some link to your research, then maybe you have to take the place or project. But it's a very different kind of reason than these more inspiring internal reasons to do something with the society, this would be quite a mechanical thing. But it's also our shared experience here that we need jobs like everybody else, and research money. There is so little research money that we have to be flexible, but of course we are not aiming at that. (F)

Academics' interests and goals associated with corporation logics. Managerial steering towards producing high quality research in the university motivates the academics to look for the kind of societal collaboration that would boost their *research productivity* (D; I):

> You have to provide some concrete results ... So, you have to publish, for example, and, for me, it's easier to publish something based on a case study … So, it's, again, those projects carried out with practitioners will lead up to results that are valued also in here [in the university]. (D)

Academics' interests and goals associated with community logics. This set of logics, firstly, dominates the goal of *networking* as a means of forming an alumni community to create societal impact through it (A) and a means of collaborating with multiple actors (H; J), especially informally: "I know people who work in practical life, and … due to this kind of collaboration relations people invite you, and you can work quite unofficial way with them, you trust them … because we have such a long-term collaboration" (K).

Secondly, it emerges when societal engagement is inspired by a commitment to some *ideology* (G) or *political movement* (B), like feminism or socialism; and thirdly, it surfaces in cases when the academics intentionally pursue *interaction within a group* (H) and *collaborative work*: "I think, very often my motivation … is that I like to have a group of people to work with, not alone, I don't want to be a lone academic doing research" (C).

Academics' interests and goals associated with profession logics. Academics may pursue societal engagement because it benefits other dimensions of their academic work. They can be motivated by *research questions* (or "theoretical interests", as per participant A; all interviewees made this point), by the *possibility to test theories in practice* (A; J), and by the *need to understand the social context* of research phenomena (A; C; D; F; I; J). The goal of *personal development* (A; C; H; J) appeared to be a variant of the professional goal to increase personal academic skills and expertise, and the quality of research. Last but not least, *disciplinary traditions* (K) or traditions within some *school of thought* (H) could also stimulate academics: "We [academics from the same discipline] have a close connection between practical people, and we have a tradition to do work like this" (K); "[We are a school] at least in the sense that we do a lot of empirical work … It's lovely to have quite direct impact … [and] these very concrete results [of empirical research]" (H).

Hybridization of academics' interests and goals associated with several logics. Similar to institutional logics, goals change with the change of the focus of attention and shed light on institutional complexity; that is, individuals may act on alternative goals at once. The interviews provided a few examples of such hybrids: serving both stakeholders and society (A; market and state logics); collecting research data or material for publications and helping organizations with development (D; J; profession and market logics); carrying out the basic task of HEIs and getting money from projects (K; state, corporation, and market logics); and, finally, obtaining funding to participate in a conference so as to publish a paper in order to advance the project and have a better chance of obtaining funding for it (D; market and profession logics). Curiously enough, diversifying the repertoire of interests and goals may serve as a motivation by itself: "I find it more motivating that I'm acting in different ways, and I noticed also that my close colleagues, they share the same feeling that it's more motivating" (C).

Prior knowledge and experience influencing academics' choice of institutional logics

Academics' choices of institutional logics are contingent not only upon the salient context, but also on their previous learning and experience (Thornton et al., 2012). In this sense, *participation in third mission activities during the doctoral years* and *involvement with peers in the academic division or disciplinary field*, obviously, play an essential role in their decision-making. Having a strong connection with a senior academic, whether a supervisor or a colleague, or with a community of fellow-thinkers who would instill their values and become a role model of societal engagement may not dramatically raise the prospects of committing to the identity of an engaged scholar for life, but should not be overlooked, either.

Interviewees were overtly or covertly appreciative of the bonds they formed with external stakeholders at the early stage of their careers (B; J), of the societal impact of their PhD research and parallel projects (C; D; G), and of the inspiration they found in their professors (B; H). Participant H had little familiarity with the subject of investigation when recruited for

a PhD project, but grew fond of it very quickly: "[The project] was about creating cooperation between different actors in this area. And it was very rewarding for me, and I liked it from the beginning, this… this… I don't know, approach … [The professor] guided us in a very empirical direction" (H). To participant I, on the other hand, it was clear that a doctoral student in social sciences would have an obligation to be societally active and do research that would be societally relevant; however, it was not the supervisor *per se*, but fellow academics in the research group and the training program that became the support network for that (cf. Tartari, Perkmann, & Salter, 2014).

Employment in the private sector before starting a research career, or lack of it, also deserves mention. While it may channel the attention of the academics in surprising ways, it tends to always have some effect. In one case, for instance, a scholar stayed in the university because the firm that had made an employment proposal went into liquidation, and later, when the informant joined another firm for a couple of years, the job did not look interesting and independent enough in comparison with the academic job. In another case, the participant managed to integrate a master's degree, current research interests, and familiarity with the corporate sector into a PhD project, taking full advantage of years of service in a private company preceding the doctoral appointment. Both faculty members decided to join the academia with reference to their business experience. Yet, the first scholar was enacting market logics in managing university projects, despite the preference of the public sector over private, and the second scholar assumed a more "conservative" research and teaching identity, although there was nothing of negativity in the story about employment with a company. To explain the rationales behind both choices, one would certainly need to look at the bigger picture.

5.3.2 Institutional logics influencing academics' understanding of the impact of societal engagement on research and teaching

This subsection approaches the same issue as in the previous subsection, academics' motivation to engage with society (*Chapter 2.3.4*, *Figure 4*, *Step 2*), from a different angle. Earlier, it was stated that the choices of academics are influenced by their prior experience (*Chapters 2.2.3 & 5.3.1*). Chronologically, the experience that they gain in their societal engagement becomes prior experience and may influence their motivation along with intended goals. Hence, this study poses the third research sub-question, "*What institutional logics influence academics' understanding of the impact of societal engagement on research and teaching?*", and this subsection tries to answer it. It considers how academics evaluate the effects that societal engagement has on their professional work, and how these perceptions are connected to the institutional logics. Thereby it also helps to narrow one of the topical research gaps identified from literature, namely, the understanding of how societal engagement impacts university teaching (*Chapters 1.2 & 4.1*).

Institutional logics influencing academics' understanding of the impact of societal engagement on research

Participants, without exception, seemed to find it challenging to discern between the effects of research on societal engagement, – which, on top of that, were often reduced to societal impact, – and the reverse effects of engagement on research. This could be happening due to state-, market-, and corporation-governed discourse that urges academics to report the societal impact of their research. Apparently, such reporting has been focusing the attention of academics so effectively that it takes time and effort to re-focus it on something less habitual and rarely asked of them. Another reason is the difficulty of demarcating between research and societal

engagement activities for scholars possessing a more engagement-oriented identity. Even so, it is possible to distill a few insightful answers to this question from the interviews.

Benefits of societal engagement for research and the associated institutional logics. Some influences of societal engagement on research reported by the participants replicated their interests and goals, and the respective logics. Meaning, what they were aiming for, they were achieving through societal engagement, and vice versa – experience of positive reinforcement of their interests and goals in the course of societal engagement motivated academics to aim for them further on.

This observation applies, first of all, to a *marketized* perception of research, wherein research becomes a product or a service, and selling it to the society, whether literally through the medium of a small company or in the form of applying for public funding, ensures stability and sustainability (A; B; H; J). It allows academics to not only create a financial and unemployment buffer for oneself, but also extend the potential of their group/unit. External funding was told to be beneficial and even essential, for example, for researchers' mobility and departmental development.

Market logics were sometimes intertwined with *community* logics because funding can be obtained through networking and communal channels, and the expansion of research work done in collaboration could certainly lead to a growth of financial requirements, as in the following example:

> I think, we have very, very much networked, and we have a lot of research collaboration. Maybe, I mean, even maybe, kind of, too much, that you should find a lot of funding to do something with all those people. But I think that … network has been very useful for that. (J)

Positive impacts of societal engagement on research as part of the academic *profession* included possibility to get research materials and data, ideas and impulses (B; D; F; H; J), combine different types of knowledge and better understand the subject of research (C; F; J), test theories in practice and receive feedback from the society (A; C; F; J).

Interviewees also mentioned beneficial effects that, unlike interests and goals, were not brought out or consciously pursued as such, but could serve as a source of subsequent motivation to engage with the society. For instance, participant H valued *business, project and HR management experience* that could be utilized for research management in the university (market logic, academia as business). Participant I spoke about *self-marketing* (market logics of self-interest and self-branding), *involvement with influential socio-economic interest groups* and *opportunity to influence them* (state logics of the status of interest group as a basis of attention and backroom politics as informal control mechanism), and about *overcoming* various types of *academic insulation* (profession logic of academic objectivity). Several scholars (E; F; G; H; I) appreciated *awareness of different audiences* and *improvement of public argumentation, popular writing* and *presentation skill*s, as well as *familiarity with timely and socially interesting topics* and *the possibility to widen academic readership* that results from it (profession logics of increasing personal expertise, quality of work, and reputation).

Although the impact of societal engagement on research was always perceived as positive when it satisfied individual interests, and one scholar plainly stated that s/he would engage with the society exclusively on this condition (E), institutional complexity created by the

simultaneous use of diverging logics could not but elicit some challenges. Notwithstanding a common tendency to downplay them, which probably stems from the favorable public image of the third mission in Finland and the pressures to demonstrate societal relevance and impact of research (Aarrevaara et al., 2011; Ćulum et al., 2013a), a few conflicts between the logics appeared to be quite pronounced.

Challenges to research caused by societal engagement and the associated institutional logics. In all but one interview it was evident that the participants gave *preference to interactive research methods*, such as participatory research, cooperative inquiry, dialogical methods, return to practice, action research, etc., notwithstanding their dominant role identity. On the one hand, it is a natural preference for the profession logics of applied sciences, but, on the other hand, it exposes academics to the influence of community logics, such as emotional connection and commitment to non-academic societies, groups, and networks.

Competition between the academic community and external communities (associations, cooperatives, civic movements, etc.), as well as between the academia and the market, may lead to *brain drain*, loss of human resources by HEIs. Thus, running a company for small-scale projects could, ultimately, drive the academics away from the university, if it becomes impossible to fund interesting projects inside the academia. At the same time, networking outside the university and media visibility bring researchers on the radar screen of organizations interested in certain topics and competences, and these organizations can subsequently hire them (B; H; I; K): "We lost both of them [early stage researchers] … because they [public agencies] were "buying" when we wanted that they could stay here to continue their stu[dies] after PhD" (B).

The corporation logic of linking employment in the academia to research productivity (see above, *Chapter 5.2.2*) and an accompanying *value gap between domestic and international publications* put at disadvantage locally and nationally engaged scholars in social sciences:

> If I compare social sciences to other disciplines, one thing is that … our local and national context is quite strong. Our research questions and issues concern quite often Finnish society. Of course, nowadays, more and more we have global common interest and wicked problems, and that kind of things which are globally shared. But if we compare to other disciplines, this is one thing. And [because of that] we are writing in Finnish more than other disciplines, especially researchers in humanities; and they are writing monographs, they are not doing that much those journal articles than others. [F]

It is not simply a disciplinary competition, it is also a competition between individual academics from the same field. When the funding model discords with strategies in that it does not reward societal engagement, engaged scholars feel more vulnerable in terms of their *status in the hierarchies* and *career progression*. The change of normative basis from civil servants to corporate employees prompts a change of practices which is not necessarily perceived as desirable or justified:

> Earlier … I was very active, I was travelling … I had a lot of presentations, for instance. Presentations in the seminars, conferences, and so, but not so much publica[ions] … I have a lot of these, not published presentations. Of course, in the present system, oh, you shouldn't, you should always publish, publish, publish, publish … And then you are more vulnerable … You may suffer in the present conditions. (B)

Very specific and "marginal" issues may not win popularity with international audiences, and addressing the national audience entails writing in the national language. It is believed that publications in English attract mainly academic readers, whereas writing in Finnish facilitates a wide-ranging coverage (F; G; I). However, domestic publications lack citation data, and it is hard to measure their impact. Most Finnish publication channels are classified as Level 1 in the Publication Forum ranking (Publication Forum, 2016), with only a small selection of publication channels for SSH pertaining to Level 2. Simultaneously, many publications in Finnish, about Finnish issues, and for the Finnish society appear to be excluded from the ranking (Level 0). To step up in the hierarchy and advance in career, one ought to publish in top international peer-reviewed journals (Level 3), but this may run counter to the nature of research one has been doing, and to the goals of popularization and dissemination of research results:

> The challenge is that when you have this kind of qualitative interview-based data, it's a bit difficult with the Finnish background to publish in high-level academic journals. Because there's always easy to say that, "Yes, you carried out a nice development project …, so what? What's the contribution to the world, the perspective of the whole world? What's the theoretical value of this?" And it's difficult … Although, I still manage really well because I have a lot of [Level 1] publications, whereas many people here still publish in Finnish, and they focus on having an impact on the Finnish government and the Finnish society. (D)

> I have noticed that many times when we are talking about societal engagement, we come very profoundly questions about the language. If we talk about research, we come to the language and the question, are we writing in English or in Finnish, and that's, of course, because it goes together, to whom we are writing … There is this talk that if you are writing only international journal articles, the audience is very narrow, and it's mainly academic community who's reading those papers and those researchers who are doing exactly the same that you are doing. (F)

> I do see that it's important also to talk to a broader audience, and also to write in Finnish, although it's not very popular or wise in terms of your academic career, but in terms of how I proceed with audience for research. (G)

In addition, several participants raised the problem of *language translation*, in literal and figurative senses. In the literal sense, there is a challenge of publishing in English for a nonnative speaker: "Then, there's always the question of language … You always come … a bit behind when you are not a native English speaker. And this kind of issues, it … challenges the academic career" (D). In the figurative sense, the challenge is to translate the academic language into the language of recipients influenced by a different set of institutional logics – reporters, businessmen, policymakers et al. (F; G; H; I):

> No one in the right mind in a library will pick up a scientific journal because they can't understand even the introduction of it … There's a place for arguing really-really abstract theory, but that's also a way of really efficiently driving away anyone else who is not an expert in that field … They don't even see the point in your debate, "Why are you arguing about two shades of grey? I'm interested in black and white, and you're arguing about two different shades of grey". Again, science is not black and white, science is often grey, but when you're talking to audiences, then you, kind of, have to understand that you can't explain it only in grey. You have to make it a little bit more

> easily comprehensible. And current academic discourse is definitely not going in that direction, it is going in the opposite direction. (I)

This discursive translation does not have to result in texts, all means of communication (presentations, discussion panels, workshops, etc.) are acceptable when the goal is to transfer knowledge:

> I think it's hard to have an impact with academic texts and writings … No one reads academic papers in … the real world … They're, of course, written to a different audience, or not necessary very accessible in that sense, or in English, which might be a bit more difficult to read for Finnish [people] … The number of publications [is] growing exponentially, so, how can one find information anymore? So, I think, other kind of interventions are needed, it's not enough to write papers. (H)

> You have to be, you try to be quite clear. And, you know, just today [some stakeholders] were praising … one PowerPoint presentation … [On] each slide they had only one word. So, I mean, that's, kind of, an expectation in that side quite often that, "Okay, okay, yeah, that's all is very interesting, but could you just say clearly, what do you mean?" And when you really have this kind of complex problems it's almost impossible to say in one word or with one sentence, so, you have to try to create some clear message, but then also try to discuss and deliver the whole big picture … I think, that's the difficulty. (J)

Yet again, outputs like presentations and workshops are not rewarded in the current model of academic productivity in the corporate university.

Two participants (H; I) alluded to one more challenge of societal engagement to research that concerns career progression, but this time, from the perspective of profession (academic profession as relational network, academic reputation) and community (network/group membership) logics. They observed that *younger researchers* need to concern themselves with networking and invent new channels of communicating with the society, in contrast to well-known *professors* who are sought after by stakeholders and public in general.

Ethical challenges emerge from the collision of profession logics with the logics of other orders. Involvement with influential socio-economic interest groups, which was cited above as an instantiation of state logics, imperils the ideal of academic objectivity and undermines the legitimacy of the academic profession: "It also can cause the problem that you become a little bit too close with the political elite … You can't become the people you're analyzing because you lose your objectivity" (I). External partners can gain the upper hand and limit academics' independence as to when or how something should be done (G). In the same vein, competition for funding strikes market and profession logics together when researchers exaggerate the societal impact or the timeframe of their projects in applications, compromising academic integrity and reputation. Academics' responses to this challenge will be dealt with in more detail below (*Chapter 5.4.2*). Finally, presentation of research results to a wider audience that is a regular adjunct of attempts to exert societal impact also raises ethical issues like, for example, protection of participants' anonymity and confidentiality, or the risk that publicity might influence research subjects when research and dissemination are synchronous (G).

Another common thread that ran through many interviews was the challenge of *matching the timeframe* of research activities against that of societal partners. Thus, it takes time to think

analytically and critically, to explain the precise meaning of terms and approaches when introducing them to an academic community, and to diffuse new ideas among the peers and in the society. Whilst, on the part of the stakeholders, it is seldom that there is time for explaining propositions – the meaning should be clear immediately, and they want to get things done quickly (H; I; J; K). The challenge is that people may share a vocabulary, and, on the surface of things, it may seem that they understand each other well, but, in effect, they attach different meanings to similar words and follow different practices. Consequently, it takes a lot of interaction, and it is quite time-consuming to change their frames of thinking and action (J). Sometimes the partners value this and appreciate the process and discussions more than calculable measures and ready-made solutions (D; F), and sometimes they do not, the most striking instance being the media and its logics (F; G). Media logics, in this context, are a hybrid of market and corporation logics because the media organizations in question are guided by the considerations of efficiency, profit, position in the media market, and productivity.

According to G, "The media logic and the research logics are very difficult sometimes to see where they do meet, and how they meet". This is the only usage of the term *logics* in the interviews outside the institutional logics perspective, but it comes close to its usage in the theory. With this term, the participant pointed to the rationalities that underlie the difference between research and media timeframes: research, in particular longitudinal studies, accumulates and gets polished over time; while the media have few time slots available and focus attention on current affairs. Reporters can contact researchers unexpectedly, and they expect immediate comments, but it may not be possible to provide these based on the available data, or it may take hours to deliberate and work out the reply (F). Besides, once a researcher is in the spotlight, other reporters are eager to ask for comments, and answering takes time from other activities:

> I understand this thing that people say that we don't have time … Because if a reporter calls you, we are always in a hurry … It's kind of horrifying because you know that, okay, you should go to this and answer her or him, but it takes time at the moment. (F)

It has to be stressed that, sharing their experience of contradictory timeframes, the participants did not express hostility towards media logics *per se*. Rather, the challenge of matching the timeframes was ascribed to the multiplicity of tasks and pressures that academics encounter in daily life. Moreover, on one occasion, media channels were estimated as more beneficial for dissemination of research, timewise, than organizational channels:

> If you go through an organization [a professional research association related to the disciplinary area], then it's going to be much, sort of, like a long-term plan, but that's also possible. You can suggest, for example, that, let's have a conference …, but that means that … the span of attention is like several months, whereas if you're writing a commentary [in web journals, newspapers, news media], then the span is usually two to three days. (I)

Finally, speaking of media engagement, two participants (G; I) reported that it could provoke *public harassment* of researchers and even *life hazard*. That is, controversial topics like racism, feminism, etc. could be easily met with negativity, from disputatious feedback to hate mail and death threats. Since these were third-person accounts, it was not possible to determine whether such experience had a demotivating impact on the affected researchers. The two participants that related the stories admitted they could understand the choice to back out and distance oneself from the media, but these accounts did not have a paralyzing effect on them personally.

Institutional logics influencing academics' understanding of the impact of societal engagement on teaching

Participants appeared to perceive the impact of societal engagement on teaching as far less challenging than its impact on research, mentioning only *organizational issues* and *ethical precautions*. Thus, participant A was concerned with a difference in timeframes between reporting for the impact of teaching, the actual length of time required for training an impactful graduate, and the time it takes for the graduate to start making an impact on the society based on this training. Next, participant G supposed it could be difficult to create links – for instance, internships – between students of some disciplines and external stakeholders, such as the City of Tampere and enterprises. Lastly, participant K emphasized that teachers should be mindful of the difference between research results and opinions based on personal experience of societal engagement that they use for public argumentation in class.

The first example involves a conflict between *corporation* logics of teaching productivity and profession logics of teaching quality; the second case involves *community* logics of trust and reciprocity; and the last case appeals to the *professional* ideal of objective and evidence-based knowledge as opposed to experiential knowledge gained as part of engagement work.

Influences of societal engagement on teaching corresponding to academics' interests and goals. As is the case in the preceding subsection, some influences of societal engagement on teaching reported by the participants replicated their interests, goals, and the respective logics, unveiling a synergistic effect between motivation and beneficial influences. In line with the findings in *Chapter 5.3.2, obtaining funding* from external stakeholders constituted both a goal and a benefit of societal engagement associated with market logics. This funding would normally come from educational export, domestic, and on-campus academic programs that helped to maintain the viability of university units in terms of positions and salaries (A; B; C; J).

Furthermore, under the influence of market logics, *graduates* and *training programs* could be regarded *as a product* or *a service* delivered by HEIs to the society (A; D; F; G; H; J), and societal engagement could be seen as a tool for *enhancing graduate employability and careers* through collaboration with external partners and cultivating transferrable skills (A; D; G; I; J; K). That is, a scholar would engage with the society to enhance graduates' careers, and the fact that societal engagement indeed benefitted their careers would sustain the practice. Or, this could start as a successful practice and later become a goal. *Service delivery*, comprehended through market logics by applying the corresponding vocabulary, was simultaneously rationalized as *public service* under the state logics of citizenship aimed at increasing public welfare:

> One product has very much dominated my work … I don't want to say that this is a training program for … leaders. This is the product which is an instrument of participating in the … reform in [a foreign country]. Meaning, we are serving society, we are serving the regions and the industries with developing new knowledge and understanding of the leaders. (A)

> For us, it's really important that we have good relationship with practical people, and … that our students are … involved in practical development process, and it's a part of teaching, too … This is contribution, our contribution for cities, *et cetera*, because they get something from us. (K)

Community logics were present in *alumni, expert, and social networks*, through which some elements of the teaching process – guest lecturers and supervisors, consultancy and development projects, traineeships, etc. – could be easily arranged and considerably enhance learning (A; H; J; K).

Other examples of benefits that coincide with goals are from the domain of profession logics. Societal engagement was found to *deepen the understanding of social phenomena* and *equip academics with materials* (cases, data, practical illustrations) that they can use in teaching and that students can use in learning and research papers (C; D; F; G; H; I; K).

Both impacts improve academics' personal expertise and the effectiveness of transferring knowledge to students of all kinds, enriching their experience and making learning more realistic: "I think, I'm on a learning curve myself. And … it very nicely supports … the sort of thing that I'm trying to teach" (G); "Societal engagement … reminds you … how to speak of your topic in a way that people understand …You have to think, how can you relate the information … to your students because … they also represent society" (I); "I think, it's much easier to absorb the knowledge if it's linked to some real-life experience" (J).

Influences of societal engagement on teaching not articulated as academics' interests and goals. Some benefits of societal engagement for teaching may be called "unintended" in the sense that they were not articulated by interviewees as their interests or goals. Firstly, *shifts in the students' focus of attention*. Personal experience of focusing attention on societal value of research may prompt lecturers to focus students' attention on the societal relevance of their studies, their reasons and choices, and the audiences for their master's and doctoral research (G). Societal engagement may also focus academics' attention on current realities, discussions and problems which are subsequently brought into class and center students' attention on immediate issues rather on basic, historic, or typical questions (E; F; I; K).

Secondly, several participants (A; B; C; D; J; K) shared accounts of *building societal engagement into curriculum*, for instance, in the form of giving credits for participating in external projects (consultancy, Demola open innovation projects, institutional research, etc.), or in the form of creating tailored training for societal actors. The design was partially related to the abovementioned logics behind the considerations of public service, graduate employability, and networking, and partially to the disciplinary logics of the profession – applied disciplines need to advance students' problem-solving skills and satisfy stakeholders' demands in on-the-job training:

> We are in the very applied field. If we compare this, for instance, to teaching microeconomics …, which is just theory, theoretical thinking, we need to get students to learn theoretical thinking, it [learning in an applied field] is quite different. It is by using examples, trying to apply concepts and theories to their own practice and their own experiences, and, again, it is by creating the links between theory and practice. (A)

> It's important that you have different kind of methods, you have traditional teaching, and you have teaching how to solve practical problems, and then you have discussion together, and then you have that kind of courses which help to use your knowledge in practical issues … We have tried to develop our program like this. (K)

Interaction with two different types of audiences resulted in *adjustments of educational programs to stakeholders' profiles* (A; D; K). Students need problem-solving skills for employability, while employees that already have these skills lack a broader understanding of their institutional field and organizations. Therefore, academics arrange practical training for inexperienced students and academic learning for practitioners:

> These observations they modify the whole program, meaning that the teaching and the literature in that program are totally academic, almost totally academic, of course, there are some practical tools also ... [The students] can do their own work while studying, and learning something which is beneficial in the long run – they learn to think about, not only to do something, they learn thinking. (A)

> Students [continuing education] … are really far in their thinking …, they really understand how the system works, and it was somewhat difficult to provide them something additional in the contextual sense. But for them, the added value was theoretical perspective. But for the younger students …, I tried to somehow link their studies to what's going on outside the university, in their real lives … So, it was quite easy to point out that what you are actually studying here, all those fancy theories, they are also relevant in practice. (D)

> Sometimes we try to teach students something which is not relevant right now, what might be relevant in the future, and we try to teach thinking … And we try to teach how, what does it mean, if you use this knowledge in practical life, what kind of difficulties you might have, *et cetera*, or how you could develop things. And, of course, we need that kind of persons as a part of programs, too. (K)

What ensues from the academics' attempts to create the right balance between teaching supply and learning demand is a hybridization of institutional logics. Practitioners that deal with different sets of logics in their work begin to employ some logics of the academic profession, such as development of personal academic expertise, or quality of analytical thinking. At the same time, students that interact with external stakeholders within the framework of their curriculum step outside the bounds of higher education and learn the logics of other institutional fields – state (internship in a state agency or city administration), market and corporation (engagement with commercial companies), and community (entrepreneurial cooperatives, online communities).

Just as the interviewees gave preference to interactive research methods, so they insisted on the high value of *interactive, participatory teaching and learning methods*. This, again, was a natural choice in the context of applied sciences, but, in addition, academics established a correlation between interactive teaching and societal engagement: "We all have some kind of participatory aspects in our courses … On some course, a group of students took part in a project where [a city] designed their new operating model" (D); "I will be engaged [in a project] … and study this subject … together with the students, so they learn better in interaction. We're going to do field visit … and to have different kind of engagement …, [and] learn together, because also for me it's a new subject" (H); "[A certain theoretical approach] has a normative goal – its goal is to participate …, and its goal is also to transform … If they [students] choose [this approach] as their method, then one of the goals that they should have in their research is also to improve [the current state of affairs in the society]" (I). It is not essential, in this case, whether the choice of these methods was influenced by the academics' third mission activities or preceded them, – interactive teaching and societal interaction are

intrinsically congruent, and this choice did not show any dependence on the prevailing role identity of the participants.

5.3.3 Institutional logics related to academics' role identities

This subsection continues the discussion of academics' intentionality (*Chapter 2.3.4*, *Figure 4*, *Step 2*) and endeavors to answer the fourth research sub-question of the study: "*What are the institutional logics related to academics' role identities?*" (*Chapter 1.3*). The institutional logics perspective absorbed sociological theorizations of social identity which postulate that individual actors have a hierarchy of multiple identities and roles, with varying degrees of availability and accessibility (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 86). The more one is committed to a certain available role, the more likely it is to be accessed and activated in practice (Lok, 2010). Commitment to a role identity, both cognitive and emotional, grows when it is validated in societal interaction. It has a potential to affect the actors' choice of community (actors with similar commitments) and the stability of organizations (conflicts between actors with alternative commitments). Therefore, the discussion in this subsection starts from the academics' perceptions of the degree of institutionalization of societal engagement in the targeted university, and from their reflections on how the role of engaged scholar could be positively verified in the organizational context. As noted in *Chapter 1.1*, without considering these perceptions, it is difficult to determine the degree and authenticity of institutionalization. Then the discussion proceeds with an inquiry into the dominant role identities of the interviewed academics and concludes with building a model of the institutional logics associated with academics' role identities by means of completing *Table 3* from the analytical framework of the study (*Chapter 2.3.2*).

Academics' perceptions of the institutionalization of societal engagement in the university

As follows from *Chapter 5.1.2*, UTA's mission statements concerning societal engagement are broad and vague, and the declared commitment to it is not translated into an effective system of support inside the organization. Along with that, third mission activities thrive on the grassroots level, and the lack of managerial regulation gives academics a lot of freedom and flexibility. Interview data zoom in on the depicted situation and make its representation more nuanced.

Formal vs. informal institutionalization of societal engagement in the university. The interview data confirmed that societal engagement in UTA "is not spelled out" (F), but is not entirely absent either; it is project- and person-based (H). Most importantly, it demonstrated that the institutionalization of societal engagement in teaching units and the Doctoral School was deemed more formalized than in research units: "There are a lot of that kind of informal groups or informal units which are concentrating on engagement and research only, but … teaching programs are very much meaning institutionalizing the activities and putting everything to the formal structure within the university" (A). Indeed, on-campus and blended educational products for external stakeholders or engagement projects within the formal curriculum can hardly be run unofficially. Academic programs financed from the university budget are less reliant on the market, and programs sponsored by third parties give the faculty additional "room for maneuver".

Furthermore, the Doctoral School *via* its formal courses and public seminars focuses the attention of early stage researchers on such aspects of engagement as societal relevance,

popularization of science, self-branding, and networking for employability (G; I). Even though societal interaction and impact are neither an absolute requirement nor a deciding factor for contract renewal, being active in this respect helps doctoral students to create a positive image in the eyes of their supervisors and/or evaluators – their engagement accomplishments meet both normative professional standards and the logics of the corporation that incite all actions advancing the position of the university in the market. The same probably applies to anyone below the professor rank (F).

In research units, formalization occurred, for the most part, only when there was serious money involved (e.g., by means of contracting), as it was difficult to implement small-scale projects with the resources of the university that were adapted for larger transactions. Encouragement of external connections in societally-oriented research groups was "moral" (B), i.e. informal and nonpecuniary, and most guest visits and discussions were organized by their members through networking channels, sidestepping administrative ratification, if possible (B; F).

There was visibly more appreciation of informal connections, be it inside the university or in relations with external stakeholders: "We don't have any contracts, no, no, no, no, no, no contracts, just very informal, flexible, it's more easy" (B); "Things inside the university they are very often very informal … We have gatherings, and meetings, and of course they are partly formal, but then the exchanges are there quite informal, anyway" (C). This attitude is completely natural and has been documented in the literature (*Chapter 4.1.2*), but has not been explained from the institutional logics perspective yet. Meanwhile, it would be fair to assume that informal interaction is favored by academics because it does not entail any corporate bureaucracy and activates community logics of trust, commitment to common values, and personal investment in group that are habitual for the members of the academic community.

Academics' perceptions of the organizational validation of the role identity of engaged scholar. In a nutshell, participants were of the opinion that the engaged scholar identity did not receive enough positive verification from the university management. Compared to certain Finnish research universities that, according to some scholars, limited the scope of academic work to publishing research articles and teaching, UTA certainly had a more service-friendly image. It was an organization that neither created obstacles for academics' societal engagement nor imposed strict regulations and sanctions against those who did or did not engage with the society (C; D; F; K). Nevertheless, all participants believed that UTA could introduce some solutions supporting third mission activities.

Two participants talked about finding ways to bill small-scale projects (D; H). Such projects are often innovative and societally valuable, but the *market logic of profit efficiency* resists their realization through the medium of the university – administrative fees are too high for these projects, and the university cannot make them lower. Alongside this, Participant D suggested a *market*-driven idea of establishing an office for advertising university research: "I think that we should at the moment also have some kind of a sales department at the university, really. Because we won't get those companies engage with our projects if we are not able to sell them" (D). Business actors prefer fast solutions, and the benefit of employing a university researcher instead of a regular consultant for some project may not be obvious enough. The "sales office" could make researchers more attractive for business clients. For Participant E, by contrast, UTA's "business orientation" has already "gone too far".

Participants G and H also pointed out that the university needed a better catalogue of faculty members and their research for external use than the system that was used by UTA for counting

academic outputs. It was possible to list engagement activities in that database, but this was done irregularly, and the societal dimension was mostly overlooked by managers. Centralized and school-level PR and communication strategies could be updated, just as the university's web pages, but these branding and marketing issues were countered by administrative staffing cuts. Still, another participant who spoke of an office that would support commercialization of faculty and student knowledge (motivate, evaluate ideas, advise on the first steps, connect them to experts, etc.) believed that the staffing problem could be solved with part-time appointments (I). What is more, the people appointed would have to understand the specifics of SSH disciplines (H; I): "We need people who are from the humanities and who have succeeded in breaking into business, who actually know, like, how you can, I hate this word, but I'll use it anyway, how you can monetize your academic knowledge" (I).

Several participants appealed to the *corporation logic of rewarding productivity*. In one case, the solution implied a reform of the current funding model on the national level (B). The current model (see *Chapter 4.2.2*) puts all weight on calculable indicators for research, teaching, and internationalization, but the societal dimension is missing from it. The model is being reconsidered by the government, but it is much more difficult to measure third mission outcomes and turn them into indicators and money than other dimensions of academic work, especially in SSH (G). Participants I and J argued for a monetary reward, too, but on the organizational level, in the form of employment contract stipulations, financial incentives, and incremental salary raise.

The same *logic of rewarding productivity* together with *the corporation logic of focusing attention on the status in corporate hierarchy* guided the interviewees wishing that rewards for societal engagement were embedded into the system of recruitment and promotion (C; F; I; J), either on the condition that it would not damage research activities (I) or on grounds of distinct role profiles. In fact, it is possible that the identity of engaged scholar would receive better validation if the division of academic labor was more pronounced on the university level, and HR regulations allowed for more diversity: those who are stronger in research concentrate on research; those who are stronger in teaching spend more time on teaching; and academics who would like to engage with the society concentrate on that and do not get discriminated (B; D; F; I; J). As participant F put it, "I would say that it would be, kind of, ideal if we had different kinds of persons in units. Everyone, everybody doesn't have to be in the same mode". This ideal, however, challenges the neo-Humboldtian ideal of the unity of research, teaching, and third mission examined below (*Chapter 5.4.1*, see also the discussion in *Chapter 4.1.3*).

For participants B, C, F and J, the question of positive verification was also a question of *personal academic reputation* from the domain of *profession logics*. Therefore, in addition to very concrete changes and rewards, they welcomed any symbolic confirmation that engaged scholars were respected at the university (e.g., yearly awards for societal impact), and that their *status in academic profession* was not lower than the status of the scholars who publish intensively.

It needs to be reminded that the critical reflection and proposals of the interviewed academics cover a limited time that quickly becomes past time. The University of Tampere is aware of these issues and keeps working on improvements (such as expanding research services, modernizing the website, etc.). Besides, interventions of the university management into the sphere of societal engagement, – perhaps, apart from symbolic confirmation, – are fraught with creating a top-down, tightly regulated environment that leaves little room for academic freedom and innovation (A). If this happens, academics may prefer to activate their engaged

scholar identities *ex situ*, independently of the university, but if the university introduces the solutions that correspond to the interests of the academics and validate their identities, they will not have to look for other options (H).

Academics' principal role identities and the related institutional logics

This study explores the perceptions of societal engagement formed by academics in their traditional roles of teachers and researchers. For this reason, it deals with three role identities – researcher, teacher, and engaged scholar, taking the identity of academic leader/administrator off the table. These roles can be ranked in accordance with the level of commitment to each one. Thus, the participants' commitment to teaching identity appeared to be the lowest, – nobody identified oneself as teacher in the first place. Instead, six academics identified themselves primarily as researchers; four academics had a prevalent identity of engaged scholar; and one academic seemed to be in transition from engaged scholar to researcher due to the pressure of the corporation logic of increasing research productivity (see *Figure 10*).

Among the participants sharing the preference for the same role identities, the degree of commitment and the sets of activated logics could vary, from "pure" types to hybrids. These preferences were verbalized during the attempts to define the essence of societal engagement and in answers to the questions that offered to choose between funded engagement projects and research publications, or to imagine an ideal combination of research, teaching, and engagement work.

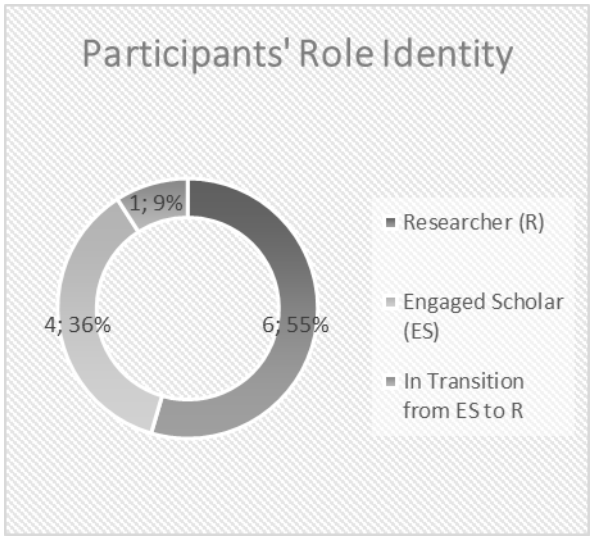

Figure 10. Participants' role identities.

Researcher identity. Scholars with a strong research identity will only engage with societal projects if they match their research interests and profiles and do not preclude publications. Research is the main motivation and objective of their engagement, they engage to obtain data, test theory, etc., and to publish, preferably, in esteemed international journals:

> If they said to me that you are not allowed to publish anything, now or not later either, I would say no. Because we are still university, and our main thing is to do research… I did not start with the notion of having this kind of outside links and then molding my research accordingly, none of that … It [research methodology] just seemed to fit very

> nicely with the [societal] collaboration. So, I see myself as independent, it doesn't guide me in that sense. (G)

The extremity of this identity found expression when an interviewee stated that, given an opportunity to not engage with the society without any loss in funding or reputation, s/he would take it because "it would make me more free, like the academic life should be" (E), despite the affirmation that societal engagement was implied into the discipline. It was also common for the bearers of research identity to wish they could lessen the extent of their engagement and spend more time on research activities (E; G; I): "Research is basically where everything else stems from. So, it has to be the biggest slice of the pie, so to speak. Because your teaching is influenced by your research, and, obviously, your societal influence is influenced by your research" (I).

Inversely, half of the participants from this group (B; D; F) took a milder stance and were propagating doing both research and the third mission on the model of successful academics. In their opinion, researchers should be active in both missions because they are mutually supportive. Societal engagement is beneficial for research quality and can be approached pragmatically to enhance research performance (D). At the same time, research is not done solely for the academic community or for career advancement; it should have a social value and utility (D; F):

> During the last decades, I think that the university and researchers have been taking a more active role, and we are, at least some are, more willing to engage and participate in discussions … In a sense, it's a positive thing, because if there's some knowledge that can help humanity, humanity is in a large sense, to develop and be wiser, of course, we should apply that. But, in a sense, we also leave that role that someone steps back and looks what's going on [detached observation], and I think that maybe we should have researchers in both roles. (D)

It is obvious that participants identifying themselves as researchers were under the principal influence of *profession logics* of personal academic expertise, academic objectivity and freedom, quality of academic work evaluated by peers, and some were also looking up to celebrity academics. Participants with a stronger commitment to research (E; G; I) were more likely to embrace the *corporation logic* of research productivity because it coincided with their professional priorities; whilst participants with a somewhat qualified commitment were more critical of the logic because they had a different repertoire of preferences and practices. Both parties were united in their dependency on *state* and *market logics*. Thus, even "the ultimate researcher" would accept a societal project without academic benefits if it yielded funding for doctoral students or profited the nation and humanity; and "the engaged researcher" would take an entirely academic project without societal interaction if it plugged the budget hole.

Engaged scholar identity. For engaged scholars, there is no pure research without engagement, and research questions are defined in cooperation with stakeholders: "Of course, we have a quite clear idea how to do it, but the initiative must come from them" (A). Understanding what is happening in the field, interacting with stakeholders, solving societal problems, fostering a change and constructing a better society is their main task, whereas publications come second: "I'm more doing the engagement and then trying to fit my publication activities into that" (C); "Now teaching is not so pressing and I should be writing articles, but I seem to end up doing something else" (H); "I'm doing maybe too much this engagement work … In this kind of

projects, it may be that you have to do a little bit more because there are a lot of people involved" (J).

Participants tried to rationalize their spending more time on service than on academic writing. One referred to it as a time management challenge (H); another interviewee supposed that the timing in academic group projects was more controllable than in projects involving external stakeholders, even though celebrity academics seemed to manage both equally well (J). While this all may be true, it is also true that the participants' commitment to the third mission was much higher than their commitment to some other aspects of the academic profession, especially to the *corporate-driven* publication race that stimulates superficial, career-oriented compliance with any rules and forces academics to sacrifice their originality and authenticity (J). To some, writing articles is simply not pleasurable, even less so when it is not a requirement of an externally funded project:

> To do it on your free time without getting paid in any way it's difficult because … all the projects take a lot of time, and, in the end, writing an article it just feels like … it's not useful, maybe … I mean, if someone is voluntarily doing without pay an article, that's fine, but I also think that then it should be something enjoyable and fun. (H)

Not only the corporate pressures to publish that lead to soaring numbers of articles remaining unread and uncited, but the very genre of academic publishing was criticized as an inadequate channel of knowledge exchange with societal actors (H; J): "I think that it would be better that you just write academic papers when you really have something [new] to add … It's maybe more useful to discuss with those people who may use your ideas [than to publish them]" (J).

Participants with a stronger commitment to engaged scholar identity (C; H) also called attention to the fact that they did not enjoy doing desk research and individual research, and that teamwork and stakeholder engagement were much more appealing to them: "I don't like to be closed in the room and just do research, I must have … an impact with people and do research on something that is … [a] very pressing problem" (H). It needs to be noted here that researchers also work in groups, they just did not attach the same importance to this fact in the interviews.

Likewise, academics in both roles frequently address the topics of their reputation, status, personal investment, reciprocity and visibility of actions with *non-academic communities*, only engaged scholars are more appreciative of the hours and effort spent in these activities because they do not value publishing and desk research as much as their counterparts. Furthermore, both engaged scholars and researchers deal with timely societal issues, and societal projects run by engaged scholars can be just as longitudinal as studies conducted by researchers. That is, these identities have a lot of crossover points, and transition from one role to another that happens with a shift of priorities is not altogether impossible or too difficult.

One participant provided a vivid illustration of a transition from engaged scholar to researcher that was taking place at the time of the interview. Thus, in the previous stage of the academic career, reacting to societal needs had been more important than creating knowledge, but in the current stage, more time was allocated to research, and activities outside the university were skipped unless they advanced knowledge creation. This transition was still in progress because "sometimes I still do things which are just interesting, even [if] I don't recognize scientific purposes" (K).

It would seem that, compared to researchers, engaged scholars access the *logics of the academic profession* in a way that matches *their* priorities. For them, personal academic expertise and quality of academic work are unthinkable without societal interaction that in no way obstructs objectivity and freedom. They care for professional reputation and status as much as researchers; for this reason, they would like to receive a more positive validation of the role of engaged scholar in the corporate university (see the preceding subsection), and many academics with researcher identities would support their cause.

Institutional logics associated with academics' role identities

It is now possible to complete the answer to the fourth research sub-question – "*What are the institutional logics related to academics' role identities?*" – by filling in *Table 3* from the analytical framework of the study (*Chapter 2.3.2*). Following the framework, each role identity considered in this thesis – researcher, teacher, and engaged scholar – is cross-checked with the logics of five institutional orders – state, market, corporation, community, and profession (Thornton et al., 2012). The entries in the table are made on the basis of triangulated data sources. Thus, on the one part, these logics are induced from the interview data discussed in *Chapters 5.2.1-5.3.3*, and, on the other part, they are deduced from the literature (*Chapters 2 & 4.1*).

The resulting model, without doubt, presents a simplified and typified construal of the institutional logics behind academics' role identities. It helps to predict and detect patterns of logics' distribution across roles and orders, yet, the reality is, obviously, more complex and nuanced. Notably, interview data confirms Lam's (2010) and Leišytė's (2015) observation that academic identities can be more adequately captured if the typologies include hybrid identities and are fourfold. To be more specific, Lam categorizes academics into traditional scientists (rejection of non-academic logics), traditional hybrids (exploration of non-academic logics), entrepreneurial hybrids (established exploitation of non-academic logics for academic purposes), and entrepreneurial scientists (domination of non-academic logics). Leišytė does not label her types and, in addition, alludes to academics who are leaving the academy and the associated identities altogether (see *Chapter 4.1*), but, on other counts, her typology is similar.

In this respect, academics from social sciences do not differ from their STE colleagues, even though the identities of research participants are not exactly identical with either Lam's (2010) or Leišytė's (2015) scenarios. Among the 11 informants, three lean toward the *ultimate researcher* identity characterized by a strong prevalence of profession logics and criticism of external logics (E, G, I), up to rejecting them (E); three could be described as *engaged researchers* who access both professional and non-academic logics, but emphatically subordinate external logics to academic interests and goals (B, D, F); one academic is in transition from engaged scholar identity to engaged researcher (K), and the rest (A, C, H, J) are *engaged scholars* balancing academic and non-academic logics in different proportions – all subordinate research interests to engagement goals, but some express stronger opinions (C), and some demonstrate a more entrepreneurial attitude to research (H).

Despite this finding, the original framework from *Chapter 2.3.2* remains unmodified, for two reasons. First, the boundaries of *engaged scholar* and *ultimate engaged scholar* identities cannot be clearly drawn based on the interview data, and the bearers of *ultimate researcher* and *ultimate engaged scholar* identities fall a little short of the radical description of ideal polarities in the literature. Second, hybridity emerges as a mix of "pure" types, and it is necessary to determine these types before surveying the ratios of mixed elements.

Table 6

Institutional logics associated with academics' role identities: The model

Role identities / *Orders*	**Researcher**	**Teacher**	**Engaged scholar**
State	Researchers as critical intellectuals serving the society, humanity, & the ideal of social justice	HE as a public good Cultivation of civic virtues in students	Global/national/local patriotism Contribution to socio-economic development (development activities) Popularization of science Public service and civic engagement
Market	Commercialization & productization of research Customization of research & stakeholder satisfaction Commercial publishing IPR Self-branding Position of the scholar/unit in the HE market Fundraising Research project management	HE as a private good Commercialization & productization of education Stakeholder satisfaction & customization of teaching Graduate employability (cultivation of skills in students, training for the labor market, collaboration with employers in academic programs)	Academic entrepreneurship Media engagement Stakeholder satisfaction Fundraising SE project management
Corporation	Research performance & productivity Career progression based on a hierarchy of publications Identification with and loyalty to HEI as organization Contribution to corporate branding Short-term contracts & reporting	Teaching performance & productivity Recognition & reward of teaching in HR policies Short-term contracts & reporting	SE performance & productivity (social impact) SE as a formal dimension in HR policies (recognition & reward of SE outputs in recruitment & promotion) Contribution to corporate branding Short-term contracts & reporting
Community	Academic & disciplinary communities Expert networks Collaborative & interactive research	Academic & disciplinary communities Expert networks Collaborative & interactive teaching	Communities & networking outside HEI (alumni community, political communities, networks of stakeholders, etc.) Community engagement Cooperative entrepreneurship
Profession	Academic freedom Research ethics & objectivity Personal reputation associated with research quality International peer-reviewed publishing Academic celebrities & peers as role models and sources of authority Free circulation of knowledge, open source publishing	Cultivation of critical thinking in students Personal reputation associated with teaching quality	Societal relevance of academic work Knowledge dissemination & exchange, cultivation of critical discussion in society Personal reputation associated with SE quality Applied & project research fostering a real change Domestic publishing in the local language Non-academic outputs

Note. Adapted from Gumport, 2000; Lam, 2010; Leišytė, 2015; Thornton et al., 2012; Townley, 1997; Välimaa & Hoffman, 2008; and interview data, *Chapters 5.2.1-5.3.3*.

Overall, the analysis in this section reveals that the interests and goals motivating academics to interact with the society are associated with the logics of *all* institutional orders under investigation, including the rival orders of the corporation and the market. Remarkably, academics create *hybrids of goals*, matching their interests with the interests of stakeholders and activating several heterogeneous logics at once.

Furthermore, the interviews highlighted the worth of peer learning and exposure to societal engagement at the early stages of academic career, as well as the significance of employment in the private sector for academics' motivation. The relationship between these factors and the choice of being involved with the society is *not* straightforwardly causal, but they appear to be *salient* in participants' narratives of the reasons behind this choice.

The *influence of societal engagement on research and teaching* provides supplementary grounds for deliberating about the decision to engage. Beneficial impacts that coincide with academics' motivation, like funding and research data, reinforce the decision, and so do unintended benefits like enhanced presentation skills. Societal interaction may also aggravate research work, but acknowledging tensions does not stop one from interacting. The identified challenges concern HR policies (brain drain, professional status, rewards and career progression), language issues (language of publications, finding a mutual language with stakeholders, etc.), forms of outputs and dissemination (e.g., publications vs. workshops and presentations), and ethical matters.

The reported influence of societal engagement on teaching is overwhelmingly *positive* and includes integration of third stream activities into curriculum and program design. It can be hypothesized that teaching and the third mission are much more compatible than the third mission and research. With that, the three dimensions converge in at least one point – their appreciation of *interactive* methods.

Participants' *role identities* have a direct bearing on their intentionality and appreciation of societal engagement, with scholars in *research* roles assuming a more protective and critical stance, and *engaged scholars* questioning some academic values and norms. Researchers, for example, insist on the objectivity of academic work, analytical distance, and their autonomy in postulating research problems, whereas engaged scholars claim that problems should be determined in dialogue with the society, and it is legitimate for academics to promote change.

In this sense, researchers must feel more comfortable in the corporate university because they prioritize academic publishing, anyway, whereas for engaged scholars, it is of secondary importance, and their productivity is harder to measure. Along the same lines, engaged scholars would like to receive some *formal* (in funding and HR policies) and *symbolic validation* of their role identity in the organization. If this does not happen, they may be forced to "perish", that is, leave the university, or modify their identity. Identities are not fixed in stone, and the ideal types of researcher and engaged scholar and the corresponding sets of logics are but two *extremities* with emerging *hybrid* types in-between; therefore, academics can modify them by admixing and/or replacing institutional logics.

5.4 Institutional Logics behind Academics' Sensemaking of Societal Engagement in Social Sciences

Institutional logics are translated into practices via sensemaking, defined in *Chapter 2.2* as a "process by which social actors turn circumstances into situations that are comprehended

explicitly in words and that serve as springboards for action" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 96). Changes in the focus of attention lead to changes in the actors' rationalization of the environment, which can be observed in their narratives and use of vocabulary. When academics interpret, for example, state regulatory pressures or financial pressures to interact with the external society, or share accounts of challenging behaviors and circumstances they encountered in their third mission activities, they employ categories and strategies provided by different sets of logics. Under the influence of their identities, interest, goals, and prior knowledge and experience, academics produce complex interpretations of social reality by combining various elements of these sets. Consequently, this section aspires to take the third and final step in the chain of data analysis (*Chapter 2.3.4, Figure 4, Step 3*) and provide a reply to the fifth research sub-question of the study, "*How do academics respond to competing institutional logics concerning societal engagement?*". To achieve this aim, it a) examines the logics behind academics' definitions of societal engagement recorded during the interviews, with reference to the differences in the scope of the notion, its disciplinary aspects, and the vocabulary employed by the participants; b) analyzes academics' responses to institutional complexity against the typology presented in *Chapter 2.3.3* (*Table 4*); and c) synthesizes and epitomizes the performed analysis to answer the main research question of the thesis – "*How do academics in social sciences make sense of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective?*".

5.4.1 Institutional logics behind academics' definitions of societal engagement

To improve the validity of responses, research participants were not provided with any definition of societal engagement, either before or during the interviews. Moreover, when they demonstrated an affinity with theoretical and political articulations of the third mission, they were encouraged to contemplate if their own understanding differed or coincided with that of the academic papers and policy statements.

Third mission vs. societal engagement

First and foremost, there were two basic approaches to the notion of societal engagement. Within the first approach, it was perceived as just another term for the third mission, third duty, societal impact, interaction, development, and the like (B; C; G). From the second perspective, it was a specific instance of the third mission as a more general category:

> In process, how the university is related to society, I think, it's an extremely important part to produce good quality, knowledgeable people. Graduation is one. And the research as such is one also. I mean, even the basic research … But this kind of social engagement that I was just talking [about], that you really try to change things in the society in practice …, that's of course a bit different. (J)

> If you have good research, it affects somehow the university, and if you have good education and good programs, of course, it affects society, it's about third mission generally, which is a little bit different thing than social engagement, but very close. (K).

To illustrate the difference between the two lines of reasoning, let us consider the task of training good graduates. The second view, evidently, allows to treat it as a third mission activity related to education, distinct from societal engagement. The former point of view, however, could take the scholars in two directions. On the one hand, the task could be deemed part of

the teaching mission, and the impact the graduates have on the society would be the effect of education, strictly speaking; it could not be reckoned among third mission impacts. On the other hand, by using the terms interchangeably, informants could level up the notion of societal engagement and transform it into an umbrella category for third-mission aspects of all dimensions of academic work. Thus, training good graduates would be considered societal engagement because, through graduates, lecturers and universities contribute to the society. In practice, this was exactly the case with all participants who touched upon the topic, except for academic B who opted for attributing the societal contribution to education proper.

Broadening the notion's scope and treating graduates as a "product" is, most probably, a logical choice for the actors whose attention was re-focused by the state and the market from doing "pure" research and teaching to stakeholder accountability and valorization (or social utility, as per participant I) of social sciences. Marking classical educational outcomes as engagement with the society, i.e., something innovative, makes the teaching mission more "reportable" and "sellable" in the eye of the stakeholder, whilst asserting that these outcomes were always there, only were not characterized in this manner, justifies the use of the new rhetoric for professional circles.

Unity of research, teaching, and societal engagement

Irrespective of the stance taken on the conceptual span of societal engagement, academics believed in the normative and cognitive unity of the three missions:

> I have always been in favor of close integration … of the three areas … It's not that you … go there and be with some more practically-oriented people, but it's more like a philosophy. That you see that there's the research, and maybe teaching, but at least research, and practical activities are not far from each other, but they can be closely interlinked. (C)

> We should somehow think all these activities as one thing – we do our research, we ask our research questions, but we just communicate what we do and the results differently. It's about publishing, it's about teaching, and it's about making a societal impact … But the basic thing, what you do is the same. (D)

> You have to be able to master different kinds of genres of talking to different kinds of audiences. And also, writing and performing, and popularizing, of course. It's just part of the job [of a researcher] … My research and what I'm teaching … go hand in hand. Because it seems like the sorts of researcher skills that we need to have, it's a never-ending list, it seems like we need to master so many different things. It's a whole package, you can't really choose. (G)

On this account, the interviewees agreed with the national legislation and UTA's strategy (see *Chapters 4.2.2* & *5.1.2*).

The third mission broke in the world of HEIs with the logics of the market which "disturbed the peace" of the European academics by promoting commodification of knowledge and measurement of social impact (Pinheiro et al., 2015b). During its gradual institutionalization, societal engagement became a property of academic work and entered the domain of professional logics. The professional (Humboldtian) ideal of research and teaching that

enhance each other and raise the quality of scholarship was extended to include the third element – but what is the relationship between them?

The neo-Humboldtian ideal inherited the ultimate dilemma of its dyadic predecessor: "It's important to combine teaching and research, but also it's very difficult to do it" (B). By the look of it, it is difficult to make connections between the academics with different roles and identities. Still, it is equally difficult to separate the missions for an individual:

> I notice that maybe my way to do research is very tightly linked to what's happening … And the way I made my lessons, I brought the society into the classroom. (F)

> You cannot really separate [research and societal engagement]. You are trying to figure out these societal issues and practical issues, and then you are talking and trying to transfer the knowledge… Actually, it's much more about the conversation, and it's really useful learning [for me] … When you are defining something and you say that this is how it goes, and you see the glassy eyes of the people because this doesn't really make any sense in the real world, and then you have to define it again, and then you discuss, so, it's a kind of a constant learning. So, I think, it's really difficult to separate those two. (J)

The relationship between the three missions resembles the relationship between the three persons of the Holy Trinity in Christianity – they are one in essence, distinct but inseparable. It follows from the interview fragments cited above that the missions are similarly inseparable but distinct on the discursive level, and it only remains to discover, what the unifying essence is. In the perception of the participants, even of those that preferred societal engagement to research, the essence is research: "[The third mission is] the societal dimension of university research" (B); "What is this societal impact … It's basically doing research. Because you can't be, as a researcher, you can't be societally impactful if you are not doing any research, if you don't have any results … We can't separate these things in that way" (F); "Personally, I think, research comes first" (G); "First is research, and teaching should be based on research, and, of course, societal engagement should be based on research, too" (K). Accordingly, the mission that was initially inspired by market logics is assimilated and subordinated to research, which has been the core of the academic profession since the 19th century. This reconceptualization helps the academics to make sense of the element external to the Humboldtian model. But then, what happens to the market logics that were so salient in the third mission, especially in the case of STE disciplines?

Disciplinary differences in societal engagement

Participants expressed firm belief not only in the difference of social sciences from STE, but also in the disciplinary uniqueness of knowledge areas within social sciences. Definitions of societal engagement were perceived as tightly linked with the nature of the concrete discipline:

> All the disciplines … the whole spectrum of science, they have different kinds of research scientific interests, and, also, they have their own kind of connections to the society around, they have their own place related to the society … We are quite different from, for instance, the natural sciences, or some poor theoretical academic fields … Our focus all the time has been much stricter than, for instance, [that of] our colleagues in [the School]. (A)

> Both [disciplines] are not only interested in how things are, but then there's a question also that, how they might be, and what to do, which is not very common in many social sciences. Like in sociology, for example, some … [say], "Well, it's not your job to think how things might be, and what to do, but it stops when you know, how things are" … [But] we may also be constructing a better society. And then they say that, "But then, you take normative stances and you decide, what is better". And then I say that, "Yeah, that's the best part of it". (C)

One participant even suggested that there could not be a single definition of societal engagement – there were as many definitions, as there were disciplines (B).

In this context, the distinction between *basic* and *applied* research was frequently brought into discussion. Naturally, more applied disciplines were perceived as more societally engaged. Nonetheless, the dimension of the third mission was not denied of basic research, either:

> We have learned to be quite strict in trying to link all the external activities to the main activities, but it is even, I would say, quite natural in this kind of a very much applied field … But if you compare our field, that is, applied field, to some more theoretical fields, they are developing more theories and applying it to something. Our focus comes from the practice. (A)

> The most revolutionary impacts of the university certainly are from the basic research findings … More evolutionary developments, they come from the societal engagement, and they don't have to be kind of exclusive to each other. (C)

> When I'm doing research for [a ministry], it's basic research, and it's also applied research for their interests. So, I think that more often than researchers think the interests can be combined. (F)

Basic research and reality are not poles apart; moreover, while applied research deals with contemporary issues, theories ponder and predict future realities (K). Societal engagement in basic research is less immediate, its influence diffuses in the society slowly, and it may take years and decades for the society to put its findings to good use (J; K). In applied fields, the application and feedback are more instantaneous.

Thus, the difference between basic and applied disciplines did not become a borderline between societally engaged and disengaged disciplines. By contrast, the difference in individual mentalities and personal motivation, between *"ivory tower" researchers* and *scholars interacting with the society* was much more pronounced. Researchers were divided into those who play the role of objective, external observers and evaluators of the society and that are good at developing new concepts and models that remain on paper, and those who are willing to disseminate and translate their knowledge for the actors outside the university (D; H). As a result, people in the same discipline would divide into groups based on the attitude to societal engagement:

> If you are in, let's say, hard sciences, then it's different, but most of the research colleagues in the university, they are … sharing the same mentality. That's why these are the ones that I'm collaborating [with], because we have the same mentality. If it would be some researcher who is, you know, entirely doing very "ivory tower" stuff, then we wouldn't understand each other. (C)

As mentioned in the previous section, some participants were quite concerned with the privileged status of the "ivory tower" researchers who are typically more productive in publishing (C), and with the labelling of academics with high media presence as "experts-of-all-trades", that is, not "true researchers" (G):

> But what's sad, in a sense, is that we are not, or at least not all are seeing these two roles. Those who are sitting there within their own bubble thinking that the university has its important role and should not have anything to do with the real world… I don't think that's a good thing. I'm ready to accept that some want to do their work within the bubble, but if they can't understand that there's something, and some relevance should be there also, then it's somehow scary. (D)

The longing for a higher status of societally engaged scholars in the academic profession was corroborated by a conviction that celebrity academics (who act as informal control mechanism in the logics of the academic profession) were able to implement all missions well:

> Those most successful researchers they do both … Because if you are professor, and you are a well-known and successful professor, you are writing international journal articles, and then media is instantly asking you advice, and you are in expert groups … It's not so black and white thing, I guess. (F)

> There's also research about this that those people who are very much engaged with society are quite often also top professors. But this is, I think, this is very much related … to medical sciences, but also in some other fields, really good people … are publishing a lot also. (J)

In sum, the association of societal engagement with research and with the discipline one is studying makes the practice of engagement not only part of the academic profession, but also part of the routines of the disciplinary community, starting from the surrounding community inside the university to the international community, depending on the case. Accordingly, pronounced definitions activated two types of logics – *disciplinary logics of the profession* (the basic/applied research divide, status in the academic profession and celebrity academics) and *community logics* (boundary setting between the groups, commitment to certain values, expressed connection).

Coming back to the question of what happened to the logics of commodification of knowledge and impact measurement that are so powerful in the context of STE disciplines, it is precisely the association between societal engagement and the discipline that allows social scientists to reject or compartmentalize these logics: "Commercialization does not belong to basic research" (E); "This business life is not so tightly connected with us than, for instance, with technical sciences or economics" (F). However, participant B opted for an alternative possibility and offered a marketized understanding of the academic profession. Namely, different disciplines have different potential markets, and social sciences are no exception. "Ivory tower" researchers doing basic research are also actors in the market – the academic market, where funding depends on academic merits. More interestingly, those interviewees who bluntly resisted the narrow, commercial perception of the essence of the third mission, would recurrently employ the vocabulary allied with market logics in their explications of societal engagement.

Vocabulary employed in the definitions of societal engagement

Two types of terms were utilized by the academics in their definitions of societal engagement: a) "neutral" terms that can be associated with multiple logics; b) terms associated with one set of institutional logics.

Speaking of *neutral terms*, almost every academic made a special effort to emphasize the reciprocal nature of societal engagement, depicting it as *co-creation*, *collaboration*, *communication*, *conversation*, *co-working*, *discussion*, *dialogue*, *exchange*, and *interaction*. These terms signified that the relationship between the academics and the society was neither top-down nor arrogant, that they were not only transferring knowledge or teaching, but also learning from the experience and trying to meet the needs of the society:

> I always think that interaction should be part of the whole project, that it builds on interaction and not only giving out the results at the end. (H)

> This third mission …, it's a … kind of co-working or co-creation process with the people who are working outside the academia. It can be related to whatever – business, or city planning, or civil society, – but it's something that you really co-create with these people. I think, that's engagement, social engagement. (J)

If professional logics focus the attention of the academic, the goal of collaboration with external partners is creating knowledge, and if some other logics, the goal is to provide a service or consultation, to benefit the community, etc. If the partners in the dialogue are members of the academic community, colleagues, peers, it pertains to the logics of profession and community, and if they are referred to as stakeholders, it is an indicator of market logics. For example, even publishing in professional journals, magazines, association bulletins, and discussion platforms with predominantly academic audience can be perceived as societal engagement, and the impact on the academic community as social impact, if the academic community is perceived as a stakeholder, and the goal is to foster some change in it (F).

State logics can be detected behind such terms as *expert participation*, *expert role*, *dissemination of research*, *popularization of science*, and *engagement through teaching*. For academics in their capacity of critical intellectuals serving the national society and humanity at large, and in their capacity of employees working in public, state-funded institutions, societal engagement means "participating in the societal discourse as an expert", "being available for comment" (I) and translating from the language of science into the languages of various audiences outside the university:

> I think that, as part of my work, that means that I give talks for different kinds of audiences. And I *do* do that quite a bit. And it also means, as part of my research project …, very active participation in, sort of, bringing forth the research findings in the media and engaging in popular, sort of, understandings of research. (G)

Besides that, societal engagement was defined as an implementation of the state-inspired mission of educating students "to serve their country and humanity" (MEC, 2009b, section 2.1). Specifically, in the sense of training them to be experts and critical thinkers (I) and to critically affect matters in the society after graduation (A): "Now it is our aim to … train the new generation of high-level experts who can help that society" (A); "So, if they [students]

notice bullshit as researchers, they're allowed to say, 'No, excuse me, that's incorrect, that is an insincere or inaccurate statement, and we want to improve [the situation] in Finland'" (I).

Terms associated with market logics include but are not limited to *innovative development*, *funding*, *branding*, *employability*, *services*, *stakeholders*, and *product*. Basically, they all revolve around the perception of HEIs as drivers of socio-economic development, neoliberal funding model, position in the academic market, meeting the demands of the labor market, productization, and accountability. For example, previously, concern for graduate employability was not part of the academic culture, standards and norms. Therefore, it makes sense for the academics to categorize it as a third mission task:

> [Societal engagement means] facilitating the development of students' relations with the practitioners … It is very much for … advancing their careers by some way – either outside the university, or within the university. And when we are talking about within the university, to support their academic careers. But when we are talking about having the external view, it is about helping and supporting them to develop their professional career, whatever it may be in the future. (A)

Institutional complexity reveals itself in the fact that one and the same person may, of course, activate both state and market logics in one definition:

> When we are talking about social impact of universities, this teaching part is very important. We are influencing through our students [on] society, of course, it's one of the main things we are doing … Our social impact is also that our former researchers are nowadays working at [governmental organizations]. So, I think, that's a very important part of the societal engagement. We are educating people to working life, and experts. (F)

Corporation logics manifest themselves in the terms (university) *branding* and *social impact*. Both relate to universities' strategic management and the logic of *productivity*. In the absence of clear policies and usable tools to measure productivity in societal engagement, and against the background of the ongoing debate on the topic, academics could not help connecting the subjects of engagement and impact. *Inter alia*, they demonstrated their third mission productivity by identifying societal engagement with *actions* and exemplifying their impact in the narratives about projects, media visibility, and so on. These examples conform to the results of the *UTA Survey 2012* (Sotarauta, 2016). They show that the academics in social sciences engage with actors from all sectors (business and corporate sector, government and public policy making, civil society organizations and the third sector, media and the public), influence changes in governmental policies, publish popularized books that achieve a wide readership, improve social and natural environment, etc.

Community logics were activated when the participants discussed the organizational aspects of societal engagement, such as *connections* and *networks*: "I think it counts as societal interaction when you're part of different organizations [NGOs, research societies, associations, and the like] … You network yourself into these larger organizations, and then you can participate in the organizations, as also through them, in society" (I); "We work more and more in networks" (K). Thornton et al. (2012) consistently counterpose community logics to market and corporation as *anti-hierarchical* and *informal*, and these aspects emerged in the interviews as well: "I can give a text message to some of the people there … like recently I did .... And then [s/he] almost immediately responded that, yeah, [s/he] agrees" (C); "This social

engagement, socio-economic engagement, it's not just these contracts and publications you may write in the newspapers, but mostly it's this informal, more important even, it's networking, informal networking" (B). In addition, community logics underlie the idea of societal engagement as *community engagement* (A), involvement with identified groups of people to address the issues of their wellbeing, and conjoin state logics in the idea of societal engagement as *civic engagement*, involvement of citizens in effecting changes in the community (B). Civic engagement connects the orders of community and the state when citizens engage with governance and administration, the orders of community and profession when they participate in knowledge creation, or the orders of community and market when they take part in innovative development.

Lastly, *profession logics* were at play when societal engagement was subordinated to *research* and *knowledge creation*, but overall, they were not so perceptible in labels; these logics were more discernable in narratives. For instance, speaking about social impact, participants observed that it was hard to measure the amount of individual contribution in networks, or to capture invisible effects of HEIs and the faculty on society. Therefore, they resorted to the professional logic of personal reputation associated with *quality* of academic work. For them, taking on societal engagement, it was not enough to formally fulfill some criteria of the number of projects or workshops, people involved and reports published, but to gain *authentic* mutual understanding with the people and make a *real* impact, to change not only routines, but also attitudes (A; C; H; J; K).

5.4.2 Academics' responses to competing institutional logics concerning societal engagement

The present chapter (*Chapter 5*) abounds in examples of institutional complexity – hybridization of academics' interests and goals related to different institutional orders, challenges for research arising from a competition of heterogeneous logics in the institutional field of higher education, and simultaneous activation of diverging logics in definitions of societal engagement. This subsection reminds of some salient conflicts of logics and classifies academics' responses to institutional complexity in keeping with the typology developed in *Chapter 2.3.3* (*Table 4*).

Examples of competing institutional logics

The most conspicuous case of conflicting logics is, of course, the tension between the *corporate* logic of producing a lot of high-ranked academic publications to step up in the career hierarchy and the *profession* logic of engaged scholars that count third mission activities as merits on a par with publishing:

> We [those who only publish and those who engage with the society in other ways] really don't understand each other … Nowadays, because the incentives are such that you are rewarded if you have a very big list of international peer-reviewed articles only, then it's like they are in a favorable position most of the time, but … if some positions are valued only based on that, then you feel it's not fair … If there would be, like, a position, and I would apply for that, and then I realize that, okay, somebody who is 15 years younger than I got the position because he had a few more publications than I, but didn't have anything else, or the experience I have, and these other merits, but they were not counted, then I would be like, yeah, oh [sighs of disapproval]. (C)

Another conflict that borders closely on the one above is the conflict between a) the *corporate* logic of producing publications in international peer-reviewed journals in alliance with the *profession* logic of academics who have a strong research identity, consider the global academic community their "reference tribe" and publish in English, on the one part, and b) the *state* logic of popularization of science for public good in alliance with the *profession* logic of academics who have a strong engaged scholar identity, focus on local and national problems, publish in the national language, and use various channels of knowledge translation aside from publications, on the other part.

Furthermore, there is a bunch of tensions that come up when academics interact with external stakeholders and encounter their sets of logics. For example, a) the timeframes of research and development vs. the timeframes of media and business operations (see *Chapter 5.3.2*); and b) the *professional* imperative of quality work and the *state* and *community* logics that dictate an orientation towards real change vs. the *state* and *corporate* logics of bureaucratic roles (e.g., among academic leaders, state officials, or board members in a private firm) that feed into "much chat but less implications on effective conduct of matters" (E). To push the matter, one needs to find agents with a compatible set of logics:

> It depends, how they are going to implement things, and that's a very political thing because it's up to politics what they decided to do. Or, in business, it's up to them what they decide to do in their business … So, you should know who to go to, and they are not necessarily related to funding partner, they are not really giving money to the project, but you should try to figure out who would be these real, kind of, persons who would really implement or take this forward. (J)

To end, despite the continued *marketization* of the academia, there is still a demonstrably reluctant attitude towards commercializing academic work, as it contradicts the *professional* logics of collegiality and freedom, and the *state* logics of public good and social justice:

> It's not about founding a business as such, but it's about realizing our dreams through this … We needed to found a business… Something that we would be happy to talk about even for free, but no one asks us as researchers of the university to talk about, so we make our clients pay for our information, and this way we can disseminate the results anyway, but it's strange, strange, strange. (H)

Yet, the *market* logic of self-interest and the *state* logic of social justice side against *profession* logics when some aspects of monetization are followed through: academics are afraid of individual performance-based financial bonuses that disrupt collegiality and force competition, but, if such bonuses are introduced, then academics should be getting them for scientific writing, too (F). In the same vein, commercial publishers must pay authors for articles instead of exploiting researchers and charging them fees for getting published (B; I).

This list of examples of competing institutional logics that academics come across in their practice is not exhaustive. What is more, not everything in academics' perceptions of societal engagement can be explained as a response to a conflict of logics; some perceptions are borne out of a mere coexistence of diverging logics weighted against the actor's motives, identity, and prior experience. Sometimes, on the other hand, the conflicts between logics occur within one institutional order. What follows is an account of how some of the attempts to strike a balance between multiple institutional logics that emerged in the interviews correspond to the *typology of responses to institutional complexity* from *Chapter 2.3.3* (*Table 4*).

Examples of typical responses to competing institutional logics among academics

The typology of micro-level responses to competing institutional logics (*Table 4*, *Chapter 2.3.3* and below) distinguishes between three general ways in which actors can react to institutional complexity. One is to *maintain* the existing beliefs and practices by either rejecting external logics altogether or isolating them and accessing "old" and "new" logics discretely. Another way is to *alter* the current state of affairs. It can be *transformed* if new logics replace the old ones, if their elements are blended in varying degrees, or if some logics migrate from their source to a different institutional field. Next, it can be *developed* if when one set of logics is assimilated to another, or if emergent logics are consequent upon habitual logics and reinforce them. From the perspective of logics *per s*e, they can *extend* their scope when moving to another field or *narrow* it when their influence shrinks. Thus, market and corporation logics extend their scope to the higher education field, decreasing the scope of academic logics. Finally, it is possible that new logics can be *invented* and disrupt the inter-institutional system. Interview data did not provide illustrations for every single form of response, but still contained a few illuminating examples of protection and segmentation (institutional maintenance), blending (transformational change), and assimilation of logics (developmental change).

Table 4

Typology of micro-level responses to competing institutional logics

Forms of response	**Definition**
Maintenance	
Protection	Rejection of external logics
Segmentation	Compartmentalization of diverse logics, exogenous reinforcement of prevalent logics
Change	
Transformational change	
Replacement	One logic replaces another
Blending	Combining dimensions of diverse logics
Segregation	Separation of logics from a common origin
Developmental change	
Assimilation	Incorporation of external dimensions into prevalent endogenous logics
Elaboration	Endogenous reinforcement of prevalent logics
Change in scope	
Expansion	Shift from one field to another
Contraction	Decrease in logics' scope
Creation	
Innovation	Invention of new logics

Note. Adapted from Thornton et al., 2012, p. 164 and Skelcher & Smith, 2015, p. 440.

Protection of logics. As stated earlier (*Chapter 2.3.3*), the market and the academic profession differ in their approaches to open source publishing and intellectual property rights (IPR). Market logics promote private, for-profit, performance-based economy; hence the importance of licensing, patenting and generating profits from research results within this institutional order. In contrast, academic profession (at least, in Finland) is traditionally associated with public, non-profit, and membership-based funding. Therefore, it advocates free circulation of information and ideas ("free" in the sense that the costs of their production and dissemination are covered by taxpayers).

A discussion of proprietary rights that emerged in the context of video lecturing gives an example of sensemaking behind the rejection of marketization:

> I would be interested in piloting an interactive course with videoing. At the time, the university said that there's too many problems and complications, so, we can't start that pilot yet, I said okay. Just as long as you respect my intellectual proprietary rights to my teaching material, then we're fine. And what happened now is that now they're actually like starting these pilots, but the organization for university employers has now suggested that all universities should add in the new contract a clause that stipulates that all intellectual property created by university staff belongs to the university immediately, permanently, and without any sort of compensation, which is not okay … If they add this clause, I will have to reconsider my employment in this university, or in the Finnish university sector … If the employer thinks that they're entitled to all of the professional knowledge that I've gathered throughout the years and, like, take one video lecture of me, and then fire me and the just play the video lecture of me to the next students, no, that's not okay, that's unacceptable. (I)

Here, what gets rejected is not the IPR logic itself, but its commercial use and corporate appropriation. In theory, this market logic is quite compatible with the professional logics of authorship and originality, and polytechnics normally demonstrate how they can be blended or assimilated. However, this example shows that, for a Finnish social scientist, its corporate appropriation presents an infringement on professional expertise and discredits employment in the academia. What is more, by rejecting the market/corporate meaning of this logic, the researcher creatively uses it to prevent a possible commercial use of these video lectures by the university and protect unrestricted public access to the expertise in question, for s/he is ready to communicate the personal expertise – as a holder of IPR – to the society through publishing the lectures on YouTube.

Segmentation of logics. This type of response usually appears when one chooses to act in accordance with the maximum *quod licet Iovi, non licet bovi*. Namely, what is legitimate outside the academia, is inadmissible inside its walls. Examples of compartmentalization from the interviews refer to research and teaching activities inside and outside UTA. Importantly, commercialization of academic work was denied the status of societal engagement altogether by scholars with a stronger researcher identity. In other words, research and teaching inside the university must be free (publicly funded); non-profit research and teaching outside the university is counted as societal engagement; commercial research and teaching outside the university is not societal engagement, but selling these services to the outer world is not problematic, as long as they remain segmented from popularizing research and arranging educational projects with public money:

> You can also commercialize social sciences and humanities if a company wants you to make a study for them on something ... You should make it clear that this is a research for the company, it's something that they purchased, that they want to make a product out of. If you pretend that this is societal research that's objective, then you have a problem, then you shouldn't talk about commercializing. (I)

The same logic underlies opposition to tuition fees – inside the university, "students are students, they're not customers, and teachers are teachers, they're not salespeople or service providers" (I). In addition, the meanings of student employability get compartmentalized: employability as a natural outcome of quality teaching belongs to universities, but employability in the sense that teaching is done primarily for the purpose of practical employment belongs to vocational institutions.

Market logics can also get compartmentalized to a scientific field. Thus, commercialization, patenting, etc. are legitimate in the context of STE disciplines, but research in SSH should not be evaluated against these logics. It is noteworthy that one can use market vocabulary to reject market logics: "Nowadays we are talking about collaboration with business … for instance, sociologists. [But] our *stakeholders* [emphasis added] are something different than market" (F). In a similar fashion, societal engagement can get compartmentalized within academic units to researchers with engaged scholar identity – "typical" researchers should act upon profession logics and do research as usual, whilst engaged scholars should translate research to industries and public organizations (D).

Blending of logics. In the interviews, blending dimensions of different sets of logics was akin to "killing two birds with one stone" – multitasking, when everyone in a research group ought to engage in research *and* the third mission alike (B), or combining research *and* financial/societal interests by matching funding programs *and* research profiles, or by doing something that is valued both in the academy *and* outside the university (B; F). For instance, serving to both stakeholders *and* society or relating to the state as a citizen *and* a supplier (A); balancing projects *and* publications by negotiating with the external sponsor that outputs will include both a presentation for practitioners *and* an academic paper (D); popularizing research and branding oneself in networks and media, *but* not too often (D); taking up a *non*-academic project to be able to finance *doctoral* students (E); doing research on the academic community for academic purposes *and* to facilitate change the academic community as if they were an external stakeholder (F), and so on.

When some logics of profession and market are blended, academics may recognize that research questions can be stirred not only by professional interest, but also by societal demands, and that burdensome applications for funding can focus academics' attention on social impact and transform their cognitive and behavioral patterns (F). For participant G, for example, societal engagement triggered sensemaking about his/her experience, which materialized in publications and seminars offering analysis and recommendations on how to be proactive, manage time and balance logics, although this agenda is well out of the usual scope of his/her research.

As a final point, participant J brought up a case of blending logics from four distinct sets – state, market, academic profession, and community. In J's narrative about a development project, the state logic of increasing public good stood behind alleviation of poorness, market logics were behind the interests of businesses involved, professional logics guided the research

conducted during the project, and community logics underlay interaction within a network that played a considerable role in its realization.

Assimilation of logics. Assimilation occurs when external elements are incorporated in the prevalent logics in a way that subordinates them to the indigenous set. For instance, when the corporate logic of performance measurement is assimilated into the logics of the academic profession, it is the quality of research and teaching that gets measured rather than some quantitative outputs (Townley, 1997).

With societal engagement, assimilation of external logics by the logics of research and teaching was recorded in only a few interviews. Thus, an academic who served on various boards outside UTA, both public and private, reported serving on a board of editors for a scientific publisher as the best experience of societal engagement. This experience was "exemplary because one can be deciding on what is worthy of publishing" (E). In this case, the third mission was fully subordinated to research interests and the logics of profession – academic freedom, expertise, and peers as a source of authority. In a similar way, traditional outcomes of teaching – students and graduates – were deemed "a very important part of the societal engagement" (F) because through them academics influenced the society. So, here, too, what gets measured is the quality of teaching and not graduation rates, for example.

The market logic of accountability can also be assimilated to the state logic of citizenship, when accountability to the state and the duty to return the public investment into one's education is interpreted as a moral obligation: "Since we are a public institution, the university, then we have also a moral responsibility of bringing our analysis, our thinking available to the public … Our publicly funded education should also have societal benefits for those who are interested" (I).

To balance the accounts of assimilation, it needs to be reminded that market logics can also assimilate profession logics, and a few references could be found earlier in the text (running a research unit as an enterprise and subordinating publishing to a business strategy). There was even a case of mutual assimilation: a business company was established to do research, and while research was translated into a product, business was translated into an academic project: "It's the same kind of academic research that we would do at university" (H).

Multifaceted hybridization. Perhaps, the most prominent example of a hybridization of logics was the interplay between the logics of the academic *profession* and the *market* in participants' attitudes to "academic misbehavior", such as exaggerating the societal impact of research or the timeframe of the project when applying for funding. This behavior clearly contradicts the norms of professional ethics and objectivity, but only four out of 11 interviewees explicitly labeled it as not ethical or biased. All participants claimed that this behavior was somehow imposed by the market, but very few resisted it: "The funding programs are by some way forcing the academics to exaggerate social impact… The competition is by some way creating incentives" (A); "They ask you to show what will be the impact of your research … You have to say something …, you promise something …, it's typical" (B); "Nowadays it is a must to exaggerate" (E); "This is a very usual thing for us, researchers. We are kind of compelled to this, or encouraged, in a way, to this" (F); "They [these behaviors] come from the system of competing against one another … I think, it's inevitable, it happens so" (H); "It's a fairly natural response to the tightening of financing and funding in the higher education sector" (I), and so forth.

To legitimize this "unprofessional" behavior for the profession, that is, *assimilate* profession logics to market logics, academics appealed to common sense arguments – it is not a purposeful behavior, rather, plans are always more optimistic than what happens; there is no way of knowing if the predicted impacts materialize, and often they are impossible to control; and sometimes, parallel projects or unexpected circumstances do not allow to get everything done within the promised time (A; F; H; I; J). From this perspective, playing by the market rules creates no problems for an academic.

For some academics, this behavior was not too problematic because it was simply a rhetorical exercise. Given that it is hard to measure societal engagement in social sciences, and the discourse of the funders is more or less soft and qualitative, it is easy to write exaggerated statements in applications and reports (A; K). Such response is, of course, more of a clever strategic behavior, when market logics are *compartmentalized* and enacted on paper in order to gain funding and then report to the funder, without genuinely affecting the values and beliefs of the academics.

Two academics managed to *blend* the respectful logics: exaggerating is good for competition *and* for being more actively engaged with the society, it is both a rhetoric *and* a tool for transforming academic practices (F); there is an ideal *and* a practical level of things, or, a more global and a more specific perspective on the funded projects, and *both* have to be attended to by researchers (J) (e.g., putting an end to the immigrant crisis in the EU vs. helping a few immigrant families with cultural adaptation; both examples are arbitrary, they are not taken from the interview).

Finally, two participants shared accounts of protection and mitigation of the negative effects of the situation for professional ethics. To specify, Finnish funding agencies set up strict guidelines as safeguards for academics against exaggeration (G); and the academic community banned funded research for alcohol producers as a safeguard against bias (I). These are strong examples of how profession logics of objectivity and professional association as a source of authority are activated to reject external logics, but both were told in third person.

In summary, academics' conceptions of societal engagement assimilate it into the Humboldtian ideal of the unity of missions and make it contingent on research. Attribution of concrete actions to the practice of societal engagement depends on its conceptualization vis-à-vis the third mission. Thus, enhancing graduate employability can be considered an attribute of teaching or engagement, depending on the broader/narrower scope of the notion.

Definitions of the third mission activate the logics and vocabularies of *all* institutional orders, but, most pronouncedly, the disciplinary logics of the *profession*, *state* and *community* logics, whereas *market* and *corporation* logics are accessed restrictedly and critically. Although participants insist on *disciplinary* differences of engagement practices in the field of social sciences, *role identities* and *personality* traits seem to have a far more prominent role in accessing logics and translating them into reported actions than the nature of disciplines.

Two types of *vocabularies* can be discerned in academics' definitions of societal engagement – logics-neutral terms and concepts (e.g., interaction) and logics-specific terms and concepts. Like elsewhere, institutional complexity creates *vocabulary hybrids*, as academics concurrently utilize terms peculiar to different sets of logics. Logics-specific vocabularies are summarized in *Table 7* below. This table only includes the terms and concepts that were

frequently mentioned in the interviews, it exhausts neither all possible terms and concepts that can be used to define societal engagement, nor institutional logics vocabularies in general.

Table 7

Institutional Logics Vocabularies Featured in Academics' Definitions of Societal Engagement

Logics	**Vocabulary**
State	expert participation; expert role; dissemination of research; popularization of science; training students as experts, critical thinkers, and citizens to serve their country and humanity
Market	innovative development; funding; branding; student employability; stakeholders; products; services
Corporation	branding; social impact; productivity; media visibility (for corporate branding)
Community	connections; networks; informal networking; community engagement; civic (civil) engagement
Profession	research (basic/applied); discipline; knowledge creation; quality; real impact/change

Competition of logics from different sets and tensions between them generate *institutional complexity* that is resolved by academics through typical responses aimed at *protecting* the logics of the academic profession, as with the rejection of corporate proprietary rights to personal academic expertise; *segmenting* them from the exogeneous logics (compartmentalization of audiences, organizations, disciplines, and staff); *blending* diverging logics and doing something that brings both academic and societal results; or *assimilating* some logics to other sets, as when service to the state is interpreted through a market lens of accountability.

The most complex tensions, as the one between research ethics and the rhetoric of funding applications, trigger multifaceted responses. While this particular tension rests on the assumption that profession logics are ethical and market logics compromise ethic behaviors, it has been demonstrated that academic misconduct can be inspired by purely academic logics and motivation (Bouter, Tijdink, Axelsen, Martinson, & ter Riet, 2016; Fini & Lacetera, 2010). Thus, it needs to be remembered that the reality is not only institutionally complex, but is also rarely black-and-white.

5.4.3 Academics' sensemaking of societal engagement in social sciences

To conclude the case study analysis chapter, preceding findings are consolidated in an effort to answer the main research question – "*How do academics in social sciences make sense of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective?*" (*Chapter 1.3*).

Tested against the research data in the present case study, the analytical framework based on the institutional logics theory (*Figure 4*, *Chapter 2.3.4* and below) proves instrumental for analyzing academics' sensemaking of societal engagement. The framework explicates the process of sensemaking as individual actors' reconciliation (*Step 3*) of the immediate institutional environment and the salient logics focusing their attention on certain issues (*Step 1*) with individual intentionality conditioned by the institutional logics behind motivations, identities, and prior experiences (*Step 2*). The institutional logics perspective also facilitates classification of actors' identities and sensemaking responses.

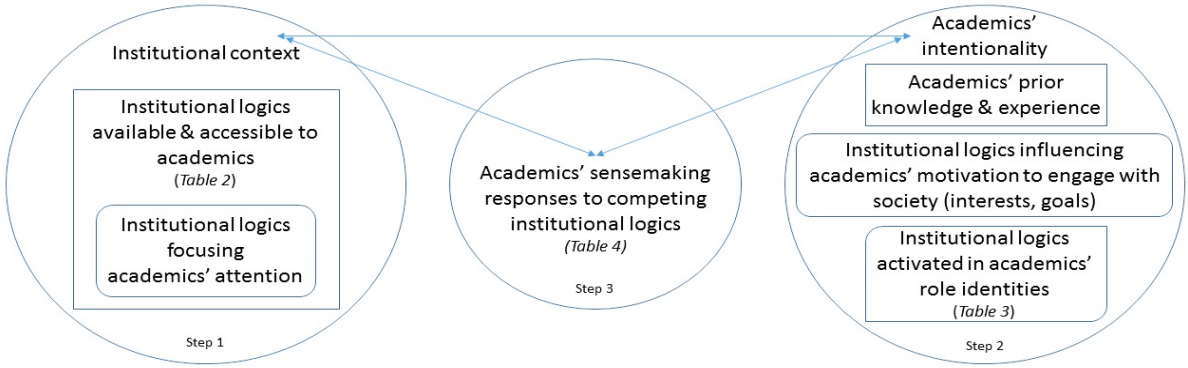

Figure 4. Academics' sensemaking of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective.

When applied to the case of academics working in social sciences in a Finnish research-oriented university (UTA), the framework helps to illuminate the following details of the sensemaking process.

The *institutional environment* of the case is conditioned by a hybrid of the earlier welfare state logics and post-welfare market and corporation logics promoted by the Finnish government in the higher education field. HEIs are steered by national policies towards engaging with the society and accounting for their impact, but there is no public consensus on the essence of the third mission, and the respective legal and financial base is still emergent.

The *case university* is a loosely coupled organization in transition, with a strengthened managerial core and a merger in sight. It exhibits path dependencies of disciplinary structures and cultures and tries to balance regional embeddedness with research intensity and internationalization. Societal engagement and the neo-Humboldtian ideal (unity of teaching, research, and service) are present in the university's values and strategy, and in numerous grassroots activities of its academics.

However, the organization neither creates obstacles in faculty interaction with the society, nor develops an effective support system for it. Moreover, two risks arise from the antagonism between the logics of profession, corporation, and market: the third mission may pose a threat to research productivity, and a tighter regulation of the practice of societal engagement along the NPM lines may aggravate the tensions between academics and managers in the university.

The *inventory of institutional logics* available to and accessed by academics from social sciences in the field of higher education spans *all institutional orders* analyzed in this case study (state, market, corporation, community, and profession). In this respect, they do not differ from their STE peers. Perhaps, they could differ in choosing how to translate these logics into practice. Idiosyncratic features of social science research and its stakeholders could facilitate, for instance, a more rigorous rejection of commercialization in academic work and a greater emphasis on informal networking and the associated community logics, but some research suggests that STE academics engage with industry also to advance their research rather than commercialize it, especially in cases of joint research, contract research and consulting (D'Este, & Perkmann, 2011).

Competitive funding, research productivity, and media visibility *focus the attention of academics* on certain market and corporation logics and on the ramifications that their presence

in the field has for the academic profession. Scholars' decisions on which logics to adhere to are heavily reliant on the logics they encountered and internalized in the *past*, for example, as part of their doctoral training, on their *current motivation*, and on their *professional role identities*.

The logics of all the five orders drive academics' *interest and goals* in societal engagement and underlie the *benefits and challenges* that it brings for *academic work*. Thus, the decision to take up a developmental project may be motivated by the state logic of increasing common good, the market logic of obtaining funding, the profession logic of knowledge creation, the corporate logic of preparing an impactful publication, and the community logic of networking. If the actual project meets the purposes, it corroborates the decision, but if it leads to challenges – the societal partner demands a non-disclosure agreement, compromises research ethics and objectivity, or buys academics out of the university, – scholars might activate different logics and/or modify their role identities, as is evident in the case of the academic who has chosen to adopt a more research-oriented identity in response to the changing organizational environment. In the meantime, the challenges of societal engagement for teaching are insignificant, and the logics behind teaching and service appear to be fully synergetic.

Participants' *role identities* resemble some *hybrid* types from the literature on university-industry interaction and academic entrepreneurship, which again narrows the notorious gap between STE and social sciences. In the case, researchers with a strong academic identity expressly prefer to activate profession logics; engaged researchers access both professional and non-academic logics, but subordinate endogenous logics to academic interests and goals; and engaged scholars assimilate academic logics to engagement interests and goals. These identities have a direct say in academics' perceptions of societal engagement. For example, for researchers, the salience of market logics in the university is too high, whereas engaged scholars, on the contrary, would like to see more support for productization of research.

When academics with distinct identities, goals, and experiences confront the complex institutional environment, they create *sensemaking responses* that are manifested in their *conceptualizations* of societal engagement, in utilized *vocabularies*, and in their *narratives*. As a result, it becomes evident that, for these social scientists, the third mission makes the most sense when it is closely associated with the logics of the *profession* and *disciplinary area*, the logics of the *state*, and *community* logics, whereas *market* and *corporation* logics may be accessed and internalized, but not necessarily appreciated.

Academics' sensemaking of societal engagement is aimed at resolving *institutional complexity*. For instance, corporation logics in the institutional environment encourage publishing in international journals, but profession logics may focus attention on the domestic market. The academic might take into account prior experience (e.g., rejected and accepted articles), immediate interests (e.g., a local consulting project) and long-term goals (e.g., career progression), and access the logics pertaining to his/her identity type (researcher/engaged scholar). Depending on the constellation of these elements, the academic will employ one of the strategies that facilitate maintenance of the current situation (keep publishing in Finnish), a change in it (start publishing in English), or creation of innovation (e.g., altmetrics). The analysis of the case also reveals that *hybridization* accompanies the sensemaking process on every step: hybrids of logics in the institutional context, hybrids of goals and identities, vocabulary hybrids, and hybrid responses, – but *this is how academics in social sciences make sense of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective*.

6. Conclusion

The final chapter recapitulates research findings, assesses their academic significance, reflects on their implications for university practitioners, and concludes with suggestions for future research.

6.1 Research Findings

The purpose of the study was to explore how academics working in the field of social sciences in a research university perceive societal engagement and its impact on their academic work within a wider interinstitutional context (*Chapter 1.3*).

To achieve this goal, the research adopted a case study approach and utilized the institutional logics theory for the analysis of the selected case. This perspective suggests that scholars in their academic work are affected by social institutions, such as state, market, corporation, community, and profession, through the mediation of specific institutional rules or rationalities (Scott, 1995; Townley, 2008) – institutional logics – which inform the beliefs and cognition of academics as social actors, and guide their behaviors. Thus, it facilitates a macro to micro analysis of human agency with an emphasis on perceptions, motivation, and identities as socially constructed and situated, both constraining and enabling individual actors.

Accordingly, the present research explored scholars' beliefs and self-articulated responses to the transformation of the academic work and profession, including their reflection on the changing relationships between its dimensions – teaching, research, and service. Drawing on the contention that "internal interpretive processes are shaped by external cultural frameworks" (Scott, 2008, p. 57), this study surveyed academics' expressions of intentionality and the vocabularies they used to voice their sensemaking choices against the institutional context and its salient frames of reference.

The main research question of this study was, *how do academics in social sciences make sense of societal engagement from the institutional logics perspective*?

The shorter answer is, by accessing and recombining different institutional logics. The longer answer is, by responding to the salient logics and complexity of the institutional environment, choosing among all available logics and their vocabularies on the basis of the logics conditioning personal motivation, identity, and prior experience, and by maintaining, changing, or creating innovative environment and practices through the hybridization of logics.

In the given case, the term *societal engagement* that invaded academic vocabularies with the logics of neoliberalism, promoted by national governments in public higher education sectors, moved from solely representing the university's interaction with external partners to being a property of academic work, and entered the domain of profession logics. Participants considered third mission activities a normative part of their academic routines and a standard practice in their disciplinary community, irrespective of the branch of social sciences. Virtually any research or teaching effort could be associated with the influence of societal engagement, which was, on average, estimated as beneficial, though not without its challenges.

Academics' *definitions* of societal engagement mirrored the "anarchy" (McIlrath, 2014) observed in the definitions of societal engagement in scholarly literature. Some identified it with social impact, some – with the third mission, and some conceptualized it as a subspecies

of the third mission. These conceptualizations were mutually dependent on academics' perceptions and accounts of engagement practices.

By and large, societal engagement was *epistemically* subordinated to research as the core of the academic profession – that is, engaged scholars could prefer developmental activities to publishing, but they recognized that without the foundation of research, these activities would be worthless. This strategy helped academics to make sense of the element *external* to the Humboldtian model of higher education and involved a hybridization of multiple institutional logics and academic identities.

Meanwhile, it follows from the narratives that the holistic approach to the relationship between research, teaching, and service was not merely a policy rhetoric, but was also internalized by academics as an ideal. The relationship between the three missions resembled the relationship between the three persons of the Holy Trinity in Christianity – one in essence, distinct, but inseparable. The three missions were likewise inseparable, one in the essence of research (although, predominantly, applied research in certain disciplines), but distinct on the discursive level.

Evidently, for social scientists, the third mission made the most sense when it was closely associated with the logics of *profession* and *disciplinary* area, and with *state* and *community* logics, whereas *market* and *corporation* logics, with notable exceptions, played a secondary or an antagonistic role. In their conceptualizations of engagement, academics utilized all available vocabularies, yet, the most important words were logics-neutral: *co-creation*, *collaboration*, *communication*, *conversation*, *co-working*, *discussion*, *dialogue*, *exchange*, and *interaction*.

With reference to the first sub-question, "*What are the institutional logics shaping academics' perceptions of societal engagement?*", it needs to be emphasized that the logics of *all* institutional orders examined in the case study were available to and accessed by academics. They included *state* logics of citizenship and increasing public good; *market* logics of likening public research units to companies, seeking revenues and profit efficiency, self-branding, and perceiving audiences as customers; *corporation* logics of hierarchies and policies, university as a managed organization, employment associated with (research) productivity, and corporate branding; *community* logics of common boundaries, values, ideology, unity of will, emotional connection, and personal investment in academic communities and networks, as well as cooperative entrepreneurship associated with cooperative capitalism; and, finally, numerous *profession* logics, but most eminently, academic freedom, personal academic expertise, objectivity and reputation, quality of academic work, and peers and celebrity academics as control mechanism. These logics also shaped academics' vocabularies; moreover, terms like *pains and gains*, or *outputs*, have penetrated academics' perceptions and could be employed even outside of their original context. Furthermore, commercialization of academic work was either rejected or compartmentalized, and, perhaps, this collegial attitude influenced the editing process of the latest university strategy (see *Chapter 5.1.2*). Quite naturally, participants in leadership roles expressed a closer affiliation with the university and accessed corporate logics more often. Finally, of all the features of the current institutional environment, *competition for funding*, *research productivity*, and *media visibility* generated more institutional complexity than others.

With reference to the second sub-question, "*What institutional logics underlie academics' motivation to engage with the society?*", the study connected expressions of individual motivation – goals, interests, and prior knowledge and experience – to institutional orders and

induced the following logics. *State* logics: national/local (e.g., Tampere Region) patriotism, global citizenship, and the aspiration of changing the world. *Market* logics: enhancement of graduate employability, satisfaction of stakeholders' interests, and obtaining funding. *Corporation* logics: research productivity. *Community* logics: networking, including alumni networks, informal collaboration, ideology/political movement, local community patriotism, collaborative work, and interaction within a group. *Profession* logics: research questions and interests, testing theories in practice, understanding social context, personal development, and disciplinary traditions/schools of thought. *Hybrids* of logics: serving both stakeholders *and* society (market and state logics), collecting research data for publications *and* helping organizations with development (profession and market logics), carrying out the basic task of HEIs *and* getting money from projects (state, corporation, and market logics), *and* obtaining funding to participate in a conference to have a better chance of obtaining funding for a larger project later (market and profession logics). It is plain to see which logics are accessed more often. Consequently, previous research needs to be corrected for bias, as it focuses too heavily on the market, corporation, and profession logics. Findings reveal that *any* exploration of societal engagement should give consideration to *state* and *community* logics, including but not limited to civic and community engagement. At least, in Finland, these logics appear to be as salient in the process of societal engagement as those of the market and profession. Last but not least, academics' narratives indicated that participation in third mission activities during doctoral training, peer involvement in societal engagement, and the experience of working in the private sector helped them later to reflect on their intentionality.

With reference to the third sub-question, "*What institutional logics influence academics' understanding of the impact of societal engagement on research and teaching?*", the study argues against Bullard (2007) who claimed that social scientists saw benefits of marketization only alongside traditional academic values. The benefits that were reported by participants in the present case study were associated with *state* (e.g., involvement with influential interest groups), *market* (e.g., self-branding), and *community* (e.g., networking channels) logics on top of those of the academic profession, the list of which was indeed the longest. Factual findings concerning the benefits and challenges of societal engagement for research were in keeping with the findings from previous studies of university-industry relations (Jay, 2012; Nieminen & Kaukonen, 2001; Perkmann & Phillips, 2011; Pinheiro, Langa, & Pausits, 2015a; Watermeyer, 2015, etc.). Nevertheless, they entail several important observations. Firstly, the difference between STE and social sciences is *smaller* than it is imagined by the public, as representatives of both fields report identical benefits and challenges. Secondly, the logic of *interactivity* is common to both research, teaching, and societal engagement, which probably deserves a separate investigation. Thirdly, the institutional logics of *teaching* seem to be more compatible and conflict-reducing in relation to societal engagement than the logics of research. The benefits of the third mission for teaching were, again, influenced by the *state* (e.g., serving the society), *market* (e.g., serving students as stakeholders or enhancing graduate employability), *community* (e.g., alumni networks), and *profession* (e.g., more realistic and topical materials). Lastly, negative effects of societal engagement on research productivity may be explained by the variations in academic *identities* rather than by time constraints and similar factors, since academics with a stronger preference for research were more effective in assimilating third stream activities to professional interests.

With reference to the fourth sub-question, "*What are the institutional logics related to academics' role identities?*", the study referred to the documentary and interview data to demonstrate that the *institutionalization* of the third mission in the case university was mostly informal, with the possible exceptions of the Doctoral School and some teaching units – which

sustains the hypothesis of *a closer affinity between societal engagement and teaching*. It was also assumed that the SSH academics' preference for *informal networking*, detected in this and earlier studies (Olmos Peñuela, 2013), was due to their rejection of corporate bureaucracy and hierarchy and appreciation of the habitual (academic commnity) and anti-hierarchic community logics. Data analysis categorized academics' role identities into *three ideal types – researcher*, *teacher*, and *engaged scholar*. Nevertheless, it also accounted for *identity hybrids*, splitting the researcher type into the "ultimate researcher" and "engaged researcher" sub-types, and observing degrees of rigor within the engaged scholar type. Sometimes, the difference between the researcher and engaged scholar was also that of degree rather than kind, with engaged scholars expressing more appreciation of teamwork and the time spent on societal interaction than researchers who, nevertheless, carried out the same work. Remarkably, teacher role was appreciated by participants, but not sufficiently pronounced as an identity. In addition, representatives of the *engaged scholar* type did not receive enough verification and validation of their identity from the university and envisioned various measures that could improve the situation, including strategic, structural, financial, and symbolic recognition of third stream activities. At the same time, they feared too much top-down regulation after the neoliberal fashion. Thinking back to the bigger picture presented in *Chapters 1* and *4* – namely, the global transformation of academic work and profession and the discrimination of SSH disciplines by the logics of neoliberalism – these findings seem to support (or reflect) the ongoing process of the functional division of academic labor and institutionalization of hybrid roles, as well as suggest searching for alternative managerial logics. Finally, the study identified institutional logics associated with each ideal type of the academic identity and presented them in table form (*Table 6*, *Chapter 5.3.3*). The resulting model demonstrates that while Berman (2012) correctly observes that "Externally, universities might justify themselves as economic engines. Internally, however, many scientists continued to be motivated, in Merton's terms, by the joy of discovery and the desire for the recognition of their peers, even as more of them became interested in pursuing the commercial implications of their work" (p. 157), the emergent role identity of engaged scholar qualifies her statement. Engaged scholars are motivated by the joys of interaction, dissemination, impact, visible real change, and the like, and find publication activity overestimated and less enjoyable, but seem to perceive commercialization in the same way as researchers.

With reference to the fifth and final sub-question, "*How do academics respond to competing institutional logics concerning societal engagement?*", the study identified tensions of a) the *corporate* logics of research productivity and career hierarchy that guide *researchers* vs. the *profession* logics of *engaged scholars* who subordinate publishing to engagement goals, feel depreciated by peers and vulnerable in terms of employability; b) the *corporate* and *profession* logics that form an alliance when it comes to international peer-reviewed publishing vs. the *state*, *community*, and *profession* logics that focus the attention of engaged scholars on domestic publications and popularization of science; and c) the *market* logic of commercialization of teaching and research vs. *unmercenary* engagement. In concordance with the literature (Jay, 2012 Pinheiro, Langa, & Pausits, 2015a), academics denied the logic of commercialization of societal engagement and replaced the original meaning of corporate productivity with the profession logic of quality (Townley, 1997). However, in fact, participants *assimilated* much of the market vocabulary (stakeholders, product, etc.) and subordinated some of the market logics (IPR) to *protect* academic interests. For instance, they used the market logic of proprietary rights to guard their expertise, employment, and open source publishing (cf. Murray, 2010). Assimilation also worked in the opposite direction – for example, when a research unit was perceived as a business enterprise. Furthermore, academics responded to the institutional complexity by utilizing the strategies of *segmentation*

(commercialization and customization of research and teaching are legitimate outside the academia, or inside HEIs, but only for STE disciplines); and *blending* of two and more logics. Importantly, cases of blending demonstrate that conflict is not the only mode of logics' coexistence; they exhibit hybridization of up to four sets. For example, if a teacher conjoins the goals of training students as citizens, experts, skilled workers, and agents of change, s/he simultaneously accesses elements of state, profession, market, and community logics, and only two of them might be in conflict. Thus, although it is commonly believed that the institutional logics perspective is a fine heuristic tool for analyzing *tensions* between the *corporate*/*managerial* logics and the logics of the academic *profession* (Lepori, 2016), it also proves to be a good tool for analyzing *harmonization* of *multiple* logics. Even the major tension between academic profession and corporate managerialism seems not so acute when academics assimilate research performativity to research excellence. As Ball (2012) puts it, "Performativity works best when we come to want for ourselves what is wanted from us, when our moral sense of our desires and ourselves are aligned with its pleasures" (p. 31). In light of this quote, it is no wonder that an academic perceives the duty of increasing *personal research productivity* in a strategically research-oriented university as an *ethical* choice and enters upon the path of transfiguration from engaged scholar into engaged researcher.

6.2 Academic Contribution

Academically, this study is significant in three ways. First and foremost, it designs and tests an original analytical framework for the analysis of institutionally constructed sensemaking based on the theoretical perspective of institutional logics. The very application of this perspective to the analysis of academics' sensemaking of societal engagement in social sciences is unprecedented. Correspondingly, this thesis contributes to the regrettably limited number of studies that employ institutional logics theory in higher education research. Although concrete findings may agree with previous literature (Nieminen & Kaukonen, 2001; Perkmann & Phillips, 2011; Watermeyer, 2015, etc.), the approach itself is innovative and sheds light on the hitherto unexplained observations, like, for instance, the preference for informal networking (Olmos Peñuela, 2013), or diverging behaviors of academics situated in the same setting and dealing with the same incentives (Colyvas, 2007).

Furthermore, the utilized theory enables development of a novel model of institutional logics associated with academics' role identities. Both the general framework for the analysis of sensemaking (*Figure 4*, *Chapter 2.3.4*) and the specific framework for the analysis of identities' ideal types (*Table 3*, *Chapter 2.3.2*) could be adapted, extended/contracted, and applied in future research in any institutional field, as they link empirical data to fundamental societal structures and mechanisms that condition individual perceptions and actions.

Secondly, the study lessens gaps in scholarly knowledge (*Chapter 1.2*) by demonstrating how academics interpret the service imperative; how they respond to multiple pressures they encounter in the higher education filed and in the practice of societal engagement; how they understand the ideal relationship between the three missions of the university and the effects that societal engagement exerts on their research and teaching activities; and how the practice of societal engagement is correlated with their role identities. Treatment of the impact of service on teaching and of the institutional logics underlying this dimension of academic work has a special significance because teaching is dramatically overlooked in the literature on academic engagement and in the institutional logics literature alike. Besides, the study amplifies the very few inquiries into the university-society interactions in social sciences (Bastow et al., 2014; Bullard, 2007; Olmos Peñuela, 2013).

Additionally, the examined case shifts the focus of analytical attention from the impact of HEIs on the society to the internal effects of the third mission on the faculty, and from the organizational to the individual level, thereby answering the call of Pinheiro et al. (2015b), Lok (2010), and other researchers to pay more attention to the micro-level processes and elucidate how shifts in logics affect individual identities. Accordingly, the study indicates that the concept and typology of hybrid logics are instrumental not only in exploring organizational hybrids or policy documents (Skelcher & Smith, 2015; Upton & Warshaw, 2017), but also in exploring how individual actors reduce institutional complexity and ambiguity.

The third and final academic contribution of the study consists in thought-provoking findings that might inspire further research and discussion. For example, the affinity between the institutional logics influencing teaching and societal engagement, or the exceptional role of community logics behind societal engagement and their ramifications for HEIs, given their disruptive potential that may pose a threat to an organization (Thornton et al., 2012; cf. a research participant who appreciated cooperative academic entrepreneurship more than doing research and engagement through the university channels).

Just as importantly, the study points out that negative effects of external collaboration on academic productivity (e.g., publishing) are better explained by identity differences between researchers and engaged scholars than by time constraints and other commonsense factors, since researchers tend to assimilate external logics to profession logics and gear engagement activities to academic needs, and vice versa.

Lastly, since the scholarship nowadays is so heavily dominated by publications in English, authored by native speakers of English, and written on the materials and from the perspective of English-speaking countries, it makes sense to highlight one more noteworthy finding. There exists a tension between the academic career built on research excellence measured in top-ranked international publications and the academic career focused on local/national engagement that requires domestic publications in national languages (cf. Olmos Peñuela, 2013; Landry et al., 2001). The first one is driven by corporation, market, and profession logics, and the second one is driven by profession, state, and community logics. Making sense of societal engagement in such a corporate, research-oriented environment is, apparently, challenging not only for engaged scholars, but also for the leaders who hire and manage them. Thus, it is fitting now to look at some practical implications of this research.

6.3 Practical Implications

One of the conceivable purposes of social sciences is “to contribute to society’s practical rationality in elucidating where we are, where we want to go, and what is desirable according to diverse sets of values and interests” (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 167). Hence, this section offers a few suggestions for managing university-society interactions in research-oriented universities that head to the direction of what is desirable according to the institutional logics of engaged scholars.

Findings reveal that societal engagement in the case university is embedded professionally rather than organizationally. Namely, it is institutionalized mostly informally, on the grassroots level; engaged scholar and engaged researcher identities are not validated by organizational policies, structures, and practices; and sensemaking of the third mission is quite diverse, which

means it would be challenging to work out a common vision, or this vision would be so broad and abstract that it could not be satisfactorily translated into action.

This state of affairs is not unique; similar concerns are regularly heard elsewhere. For example, Koryakina et al. (2015) observe this situation in Portugal: "Despite the changes towards more centralization and more managerial control over research, third stream activities are scattered across the academic and research units, showing different degrees of involvement. It seems that these activities are still conducted in a somewhat *ad hoc* manner by enthusiastic academics, without formal procedures being in place, such as reward mechanisms and quality assurance, for example, which confirms universities' structural ambiguity" (p. 12; cf. Benneworth, de Boer, & Jongbloed, 2015; Olmos Peñuela, 2013). As Benneworth and Osborne (2014) add up, "The typical European picture is of much activity, but greatly fragmented without overall institutional coordination" (p. 224).

Taken together, such cases make it quite clear what direction the management should *not* take: constructing an ideal model of societal engagement, imposing the "best practices" on all academics without distinction, and steering them with NPM performance incentives and metrics (Benneworth et al., 2015). Instead, HEIs are recommended to create a supportive organizational environment for third mission activities (Goddard et al., 2016), which could be achieved with the help of the following three strategies.

Strategy one: know thy academics and their institutional logics. Institutional complexity entails a diversity of responses. Therefore, familiarity with academics' perceptions and practices, and with the changing compositions of institutional logics is essential for strategic human resource management (Swan et al., 2010). "Knowing what academics do and deliver, and the value they create, carries potential to modernize many facets of work and the profession. People could be hired, developed, rewarded and promoted on more objective grounds. More sophisticated arguments could be made about advancing, and indeed guarding, the unique academic role and the value of contributions it makes" (Coates, 2017, p. 124).

Strategy two: render unto researcher the things that are researcher's, and unto engaged scholar the things that are engaged scholar's, and customize services.

The model of a research-intensive university does not have to put engaged scholars at a disadvantage. At the same time, researchers also should not be forced to engage with the society against their free will (Benneworth, 2013). This strategy suggests looking for a good balance of human capital in academic units, optimizing research teams by mixing academics with different profiles (Fini & Toschi, 2015), and supporting academic leaders who are able to mediate and "buffer" divergent sets of logics (Villani & Phillips, 2013). HEIs might also decouple societal engagement from other missions and establish a separate unit for third stream activities, but this could only serve as a temporary solution on the way to a full institutionalization.

This strategy requires a customized, evidence-based, and transparent approach to workforce management in HEIs. Voices in its favor have been getting more salient in the literature, and its benefits seem to outweigh its extensity (Coates, Goedegebuure, & Meek, 2015). *Inter alia*, it has the flexibility that is needed for HR managers to attune recruitment, promotion, reward and recognition to the scholarship of engagement and integrate it with the other university missions. Furthermore, it values and incorporates grassroots initiatives and bottom-up processes, as it builds support infrastructures around communities of practice.

The strategy likewise calls forth a reconceptualization of academic work that would take into account *all* roles and identities of the academics, doing away with the binary oppositions of teaching/research and academic manager/managed academic (Winter, 2009). New approach would allow for more nuanced and individualized, yet simultaneously more inclusive career paths. In this connection, Coats et al. (2015) outline the prospects of nonlinear and horizontal career trajectories that contrast greatly with today's vertical corporate hierarchies. Besides, they advance another logical proposition – transformation of academic work and profession induces a transformation of academic (doctoral) training. This proposition is corroborated by the interview data from the present study that highlights the importance of exposure to societal engagement at the early stages of the academic career for the subsequent sensemaking of societal engagement (cf. Bercovitz & Feldman, 2008; Colyvas, 2007).

Strategy three: know thy limits of performance management, and push past them.

Evidence-based customization presupposes a thorough collection and evaluation of performance data with a view to matching academics' preferences and capabilities against organizational opportunities and needs (Coates et al., 2015). Given that university performance measurement has a history of bureaucratization, formal compliance, off-the-books activities, and excessive attention to calculable outputs (Olmos Peñuela, 2013), it is recommended to customize the performance evaluation system, even though accounting for informal collaborations and intangible outcomes remains an open task for scholars, managers and policymakers. Additionally, it is desirable to shift the focus of attention from productivity to personal development and formative evaluation.

Finally, the need to manage institutional complexity and variability instigates a reconsideration of current management practices in HEIs and the logics that inspire them. Thus, seeing that neoliberal managerialism which is conditioned by market and corporation logics fails to provide worthwhile solutions to the problem of managing societal engagement, one might turn to the competitive paradigm of public value management and networked governance (Bryson, Crosby, & Bloomberg, 2014; Ferlie, Musselin, & Andresani, 2008; Stoker, 2006; O'Flynn, 2007). It could be hypothesized that it should prove particularly useful because both societal engagement and this paradigm are largely embedded in civic and community logics, – but this idea warrants further exploration.

6.4 Suggestions for Further Research

Future studies are invited to overcome the limitations of the present research and take its agenda forward.

First, a diachronic analysis of the case would allow to track developments in the hybrids of institutional logics and academic identities involved in the sensemaking of societal engagement.

Second, the scope of analysis could be extended to other disciplinary areas, HEIs, and countries to enhance generalizability and better comprehend the factors affecting sensemaking choices. Similarly, future analyses could address other dimensions of academic work (e.g., academic leadership), other interest groups (e.g., students and graduates, societal partners), and the logics of the two remaining institutional orders (family and religion), depending on the cases. Furthermore, studies could incorporate academics' behaviors to illustrate how the logics

behind societal engagement translate into practices, or examine the dynamic between individual identities and HEIs' (organizational) identities with regard to societal engagement.

Third, the scope of analysis could, alternatively, be narrowed to provide deeper insights into some aspects of the research problem. For instance, more information is needed about the presumably synergistic relationship between societal engagement and teaching, about the institutional logics associated with teacher identity and enacted in hybrid academic identities, about the role of community logics in higher education and societal engagement, and about the connection between academics' sensemaking, institutionalization of the third mission, and approaches to institutional management.

Fourth, future research designs could revise and improve data collection and the appended interview guide, and diversify the methodological repertoire by including ethnographic methods or attempting a mixed methods strategy.

Finally yet importantly, the generic character of the analytical framework rooted in institutional logics theory suggests that it could be adapted and validated in other empirical settings beyond the academia. Results of such studies could facilitate a refining of the framework and other analytical tools (typologies, models) employed in this study.

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Appendix

Interview Guide. Part A.

I. Background information

1. What is your position at the university?
2. When did you start your studies and/or work at UTA, your School, your Unit (e.g., your Research Center)?
3. When did you begin your research, teaching, and societal engagement? In what disciplinary field(s)?
4. Was societal engagement part of your doctoral education? If yes, was it due to your supervisor, department, or the doctoral program?
5. Is societal engagement required at UTA/your School/your Unit?
6. On average, how do you divide your time between research, teaching, and societal engagement during the week? Why?
7. Has academic work been your only occupation?

II. Societal Engagement

8. What is societal engagement, in your opinion?
9. Do you think your discipline and/or field differ in terms of societal engagement from other disciplines/fields?
10. In what external activities are you currently involved? In the past, were you involved in the same kind of activities? Which of them do you prefer the most and the least, and why?
11. Could you bring 1-2 best cases of societal engagement, either from your personal or your colleagues' experience? What makes them exemplary?
12. How do you see your engagement with the society in four years from now?
13. Why do you engage with the society? Do you think your colleagues engage for the same reasons?
14. Recent research from the UK and Australia has shown researchers often exaggerate the societal impact of their research or the timeframe of the project when they apply for funding. What do you think about these strategies?
15. If you were given an opportunity to not engage with the society without any loss in funding or reputation, would you take it?
16. If you were given an opportunity to choose only research, teaching, and societal engagement or combine any of them, what would you choose?

III. The Influence of Societal Engagement on Research

17. What activities and achievements best describe your research work?
18. Has your research changed after you became engaged outside the university? In what ways?
19. Could you give 1-3 examples of how societal engagement has influenced your research in this semester?
20. What is the value of societal engagement for research? Is it also important for your colleagues?
21. Some researchers think societal engagement takes time away from research, impairs research performance, and creates research bias. Do you agree with these statements?
22. Some researchers think knowledge in social sciences and humanities should not be commercialized like in other disciplines/fields. Do you agree with this statement?
23. If you were offered a societal engagement project that would only bring monetary benefits without any academic advantages like publications, would you participate?
24. How do you see your research activities and achievements in four years from now?

IV. The Influence of Societal Engagement on Teaching

25. What activities and achievements best describe your teaching work?
26. Has your teaching changed after you became engaged outside the university? In what ways?
27. Could you give 1-3 examples of how societal engagement has influenced your teaching in this semester?
28. What is the value of societal engagement for teaching? Is it also important for your colleagues?
29. Do you find the impact of societal engagement on teaching beneficial? Some people think of lecturers as service providers and of students as customers. Others believe students should be educated to be citizens. What do you think of these views?
30. Some lecturers think the emphasis on applicability of knowledge and graduate employability is incompatible with the nature of social sciences and humanities and damages basic theory study. Do you agree with these statements?
31. How do you see your teaching activities and achievements in four years from now?

V. Organizational Context

32. Does societal engagement have any impact on your career?
33. What would you change about the support for societal engagement at UTA?

Interview Guide. Part B

1. a) Do you engage with the following societal sectors?	**Yes**
Business and the Corporate Sector	
Government and Public Policy Making	
Civil Society Organizations and the Third Sector (trade unions, interest groups, pressure groups, social movements, think tanks, charities, non-governmental organizations, etc.)	
Media and the Public (networks, public relations, public lectures, outreach work, etc.)	
Other (please specify)	

b) Which engagement(s) influence(s) your teaching and research the most? Why?

2. a) Has your societal engagement had any effect on:	**Yes**
research funding	
research facilities and equipment	
research focus	
research methodology	
research skills and competences/professional development	
research ideas and innovations	
research services	
communication with colleagues from Unit/School/UTA/Finland/abroad, including electronic communication	
number of publications	
range of publications (books, articles, reports, multimedia, blogging, etc.)	
impact of publications	
publications in co-authorship	
prestige of the journals/publishing houses	
research reviews/editing	
participation in conferences	
research mobility	
research awards	

networking and research collaboration	
grant writing/research management/coordination of research projects	
interdisciplinarity of research	
internationalization of research	

b) If yes, what effect? Is it positive or negative? Why?

3. a) Has your societal engagement had any effect on:	**Yes**
curriculum/program development	
time spent on preparation and coordination of courses	
number of courses and contact hours	
number of undergraduate students	
number of graduate and doctoral students	
course contents and materials	
teaching methods	
teaching skills and competences/professional development	
use of technology/social media for teaching	
collaborative teaching	
lecturing/practical instruction	
student assessment	
supervising and mentoring	
location of classes	
communication with students, including electronic communication	
teaching awards	
teaching reputation/student feedback	
teaching mobility	
coordination of educational projects	
interdisciplinarity of teaching	
internationalization of teaching	

b) If yes, what effect? Is it positive or negative? Why?